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WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

WOMEN AND SOCIETY

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International Conference on the
" Position of Women (1975;
Paris, France)

WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

WOMEN AND SOCIETY

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FAMILY ORGANIZATIONS

International conference on the position of women

Paris, August 22 - 23, 1975

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Paris, August 22 - 23, 1975

TOPICS FOR CONSIDERATION PROPOSED TO THE PARTICIPANTS

1. The sharing of responsibilities within the family:

Each society in its own cultural context traditionally attributes to man and woman certain responsibilities and certain specific tasks for running and developing the family. In some cases, this sharing also extends to the children (teenage and younger), grandparents and relatives.

The growing contribution of women to professional and social life, especially in the urban setting, put her domestic and educational tasks within the family in a different perspective - all the more so when, as in many cases, the nuclear family (father, mother and children) is geographically separated from grandparents and relatives, an increasing trend in the urban environment.

The actual diversity in the sharing of responsibilities within the family at various times and places, as highlighted by historians and ethnologists, shows that capabilities of men and women and the functions arising from them, are susceptible to many variables and are far from being unchangeable. These capabilities are, in fact, conditioned capabilities which, apart from the physiological factors, are the results of the social and economic organisation and the current values of society at any given moment.

In other respects, research in psychology tends to highlight the relation between certain traits considered typical of each sex, and at the same time emphasise that the role of the father in the education of the children and the formation of their personalities is as important as that of the mother.

1) What practical consequences does this development in the sharing of family responsibilities have nowadays in different countries, paying due regard to local custom? What are the tasks entrusted to each spouse and to the children within the family?

2) How do a husband and wife strike a balance with regard to family tasks, working life, and social and political activities?

3) Are we witnessing a growing "interchangeability" between spouses, which also extends to their domestic and educational roles?

4) How are women reacting to a situation which is sometimes new to them and which can create perhaps just a partial change in the role they play in the family and outside the home?

Facts and figures which would be useful:

- the percentage of women having employment outside the home, if possible by broad economic categories and for a period of several years, for example: 1955 - 1965 - 1975?

- what aspects of labour, social and family legislation have been changed over the last ten or twenty years which affect the functions, responsibilities and support given to men and women in their family tasks?

- the percentage of urban families living with relatives (if possible, in 1955 - 1965 - 1975).

- the percentage of women having political responsibilities at local or governmental level compared with the total number of persons in political offices. For example - how many women are there among one hundred parliamentary representatives?

2. The working life of women

Economic changes and the high value attached to productive work in most societies, as well as the desire to employ the talents of both men and women in this work, have led to a growing tendency on the part of women to take employment outside the home whilst still assuming family responsibilities. The economic motivation (the desire, for example, to raise the family's standard of living) is not the only reason, as is confirmed by the research undertaken by the IUFO which was presented in 1961 at the International Conference at Madrid, in 1963 in the Study Group on Working-Class environments, and in 1965 at the International Labour Conference. The same research also underlines the difficulties this double responsibility produces for women, even if the efforts of public authorities and the natural changes in family organisations (see topic 1) are tending more and more to ensure that woman does not have to single-handedly face the domestic and educational tasks in addition to her professional ones.

Let us recap the changes in 1975 in the position of women in relation to their professional callings, and the consequences of these changes at family and governmental level in the various countries where efforts are being made to give women the choice to either pursue or to interrupt their working life when their family responsibilities become more important, or to enable them to fulfil this double function more effectively.

We can perhaps bypass the theoretical principles of the advocates and adversaries of mothers with young children having a working life and find a new approach to the subject by discovering the actual position of each country on the following points:

1) What changes can be observed over the last twelve years in the working lives of women, grouping them by social categories, age and professional qualifications and examining both the statistics and the attitudes involved?

2) Despite the legal provisions existing in most countries, are there still differences in the types of employment, in the promotion and career prospects, in pay and in the responsibilities assumed by men and women in working life? If disparities do exist, what is being done to remedy this situation?

3) In what way is labour legislation attempting to reconcile the work of running a home and holding down a job? Does this take the form of special provisions for women (time-off, working hours to suit their needs, etc.) or other arrangements for the father as well, according to the couple's own needs and wishes?

4) In the general running of daily life, what are the major obstacles to a woman having a job during certain periods of the family cycle? What measures are being taken by the public authorities to ease this problem (for example, communal facilities and services)?

5) For a woman with family obligations, what are the terms under which

the choice of continuing, stopping, or resuming employment is offered to her, according to different environments and situations? Is she actually able to choose? What are the criteria involved for a couple making this decision? What is the attitude of the public authorities towards this choice?

Facts and figures which would be useful:

In the main this documentation corresponds that of topic 1. However, it would be useful to also have the following information:

- the system of family allowances and allowances to mothers at home;
- the development of back-up services for mothers and of educational facilities for their children.
- A comparison between men and women in employment from the point of view of qualifications, occupations and responsibilities.

3. The education of boys and girls

We shall tackle this theme from three complementary aspects:

1) First, education concerns the grooming of the future woman to give her the best preparation for her future responsibilities, taking into account the various aspects of these responsibilities: that is to say, in the family but also in her civic and working life, should the latter arise. For a woman and a couple to have a real choice in the organisation of their family life, the woman must be able to bring into play all her capabilities. The same applies when the woman opts to take outside employment, so that she is in a position to approach it under conditions which allow her to take up interesting and responsible positions. Furthermore, the greater her competence in the work of rearing and educating her family, the greater will be the contribution to her job, even if she has only a limited amount of time available.

Now, it is still often possible to detect a difference in the importance and attention given by public bodies, and by public opinion, to the training and education of girls in relation to that of boys. The result of this is that girls have very limited prospects of achieving responsible positions in society; instead they are prepared for a mediocre or uninteresting future, they are robbed of that broadening of the mind and general culture which would enable them, even within the family, to develop the personality of their children and to become involved themselves in research and activities which could influence their future.

2) Secondly, preparation for conjugal and family life rarely appears on the school curriculum, and when it does, it is approached in a half-hearted and haphazard manner.

Moreover, in the majority of cases only girls are given this preparation when in fact the entire development of family life (see topic 1) leads one to believe that boys will be increasingly encouraged to participate in the domestic and family tasks, even if only to preserve a balance in the life of the couple and to upgrade the woman's position, regardless of whether she has outside employment.

3) Thirdly, the current practice of co-education in schools and out-of-school activities could bring a positive influence to bear on the future attitudes of the young of both sexes towards each other by getting them used to cooperating on similar problems and hence transform the manner in which they view their reciprocal capabilities.

Our purpose in studying theme 3, therefore, is to closely examine these three complementary aspects:

- Firstly, by taking stock of the actual state of affairs (including the ideology on the role of the sexes imparted during school life i.e. the superiority accorded to one or the other in various fields, and which imprints behaviour patterns and stereotypes which will last for the whole of adult life), in the educational system, its methods, its teaching, the position of girls during their entire school lives and the results they achieve etc.

- Secondly, by means of a project in which an educational system is created which would really prepare girls and boys for their future family tasks, particular attention being given to the way in which they form an image of their roles in family life and the attitude they will have towards this image.

Facts and figures which would be useful:

- the percentages of boys and girls being educated in the various stages of the educational system (including higher education) and in the various fields and disciplines. What has been the trend over the last ten to twenty years?

- a comparison of the certificates and qualifications obtained by girls and boys, for example, within one class of the same age?

- the state of the educational system with regard to the mixing of boys and girls in schools, in classes and in different grades.

- curricular or extra-curricular courses designed to prepare pupils of both sexes and of varying ages for family life.

4. Family and society

By promoting an organised and centralised communal life, society controls and supports the development of family life, especially as regards ensuring that children grow up in accordance with the all-round objectives that society attains to. In industrial societies informal social control exercised by various groups on one another, or simply between individuals of the same group (neighbours, relatives etc.) is increasingly being replaced by formal legislative measures. These include incentives, especially financial, regulations concerning the couple's life and children, and recommendations or obligations on their education. The setting of family life is also largely determined by state intervention in the fields of housing, urban life and work.

This intervention by the State or semi-public bodies in the individual's private life, which has the two-fold purpose of protecting the institution of the family and ensuring that it develops in accordance with the more or less clearly defined social objectives, begs the following two questions:

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1) How do families deal with the intervention that affects their private lives and which often largely determines their future parts? How do families maintain a certain control over their own future, despite this intervention i.e. in what ways are they able to exercise a certain degree of political power which gives them some say in decisions? What opportunities are left open to them to follow an autonomous line of behaviour, hence allowing space for individual modes of living to develop into new patterns of family life? This theme was dealt with quite extensively at the inter-African Symposium held in Rwanda in 1970.

2) The composition of the political social decision-making bodies at all levels is such that women are very poorly represented when it comes to making decisions which affect the family and children. In fact, they are the ones mainly affected by these decisions. In most cases men are either in a majority in taking these decisions or the woman's voice is not heard at all. This situation is dealt with under topic 1.

What consequences does this situation have on the direction of family life? If this situation is considered undesirable, are efforts currently being made to change this inequality in the decision-making powers of men and women? By what means? Even where no discriminative legislation exists, has there been any analysis of the process by which women are forced to stay out of the political arena? This certainly shares much common ground with topics 2 and 3.

Facts and figures which would be useful:

- The current direction of family policy and legislation.
A broad outline of this policy.

- The degree of involvement of bodies representing the family and more particularly, of women in the decisions affecting them.

- The appearance of new forms of family life (whether spontaneous or recognised by law); changes in morals with regard to marital life, demography etc.

METHODOLOGY

The aims of this international study

The purpose is not to lay down standards but rather to gather and compare facts and signs of change so as to provide each country with information on the possible future of women and the family institution and to focus on the consequences that different kinds of policies would have.

Thus, in the discussions and reports we will not dwell on what should be (the moral principle) but rather on what is at the present moment; no general theoretical thought but definite situations.

Method

This study is not being presented in the form of a questionnaire as this would not be suited to the particular problems of each country.

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Instead, we are trying to create a framework for discussion and food for thought which will be broad enough to enable each country to draw from it what it considers most important for itself. Nevertheless, the topics put forward raise many questions from which we hope to receive answers which will enable comparisons to be drawn between countries.

1) Discussion of topics in each country should be led by the influential groups i.e. the men and women involved in family life. It will be interesting to have the opinions of typical men and women from varying social backgrounds and environments.

The topics will be put forward and the participants will then be encouraged to express their thoughts freely, each one drawing upon his own experience. A member of each group will write down as fully as possible what is said, preserving each speaker's individual style and expressions. There will be no need to provide a synopsis of this information, in fact we hope to receive the notes without any alterations at the end of the discussion period.

The groups will be made up of about 10 people with one or two groups handling each topic.

2) The facts and figures that would be useful listed for each topic are intended as a general guideline to aid understanding of the situation in each country and to make it easier to evaluate the replies. In the main they will be statistical documents or information concerning legislation or laws of the countries. Unlike the discussion, these can be gathered and arranged by the national authorities.

Lay-out of replies

At the top of each reply give the composition and characteristics of the respondent groups - place, number, sex, age, social environment.

All replies on different topics and for each group must be given on separate sheets, this to aid analysis.

General information (documentation) is to be given on separate sheets by topic. Do not forget to give on each sheet the name of the country replying.

Do not worry about style and wording. The answers can be given in simple note forms. Respect for the style adopted by those giving their opinions is more important than literary style.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE FAMILY
Paris, August 22 to 23, 1975

WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

by

Maria Stommel

Member of the West German Parliament
Vice-president of the West German Roman Catholic Family Association

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There has been a great increase in comparison with previous years in the amount of theoretical discussion around the family and its functions and the political debate on this question in the various parliaments and parties, in family organizations, in social institutions, within families themselves, in the media and in public. The purpose is not only to define what constitutes the modern day family, but also to find out what are the essential functions the family must fulfil now and in the future, first as an autonomous unit, secondly as a unit independent of public and social institutions but sharing responsibilities with them.

Depending on its own cultural framework and basic direction, each society assigns to women very definite tasks and responsibilities which, in turn, define their position as women. For this reason, it is impossible to develop an homogenous image of the woman in the family. Therefore, I shall concentrate mostly on the present situation in West Germany, deviating only to pass a few remarks on diverging developments in other European states.

This paper will not concern itself with the great majority of women in non-industrialized countries with their accelerated rates of demographic growth, their very large families and their pre-industrial economic systems. These are mostly women of the Third World whose struggle against poverty, and especially against hunger, is so dramatic that all other problems are pushed into the background.

Ladies and gentlemen, since our society is undergoing constant changes - and this is true of almost all countries - the position of a woman in her family is quite impossible to define once and for all. Consequently our subject will also be influenced by the following question: what practical position should we take on the sharing of responsibilities in children's socialization, on the one hand between the family and other institutions (taking into account each country's customs), and on the other between both parents within the family?

The functions taken on by each of the spouses are determined - traditional functions apart - by the specific facts of sex and social and economic conditions, such as the increasing participation of women in the social and professional life, especially in large cities. In modern countries, this is due to a new orientation based upon economic changes which leads to a greater acceptance of women's work outside the home, and to the emergence of a desire on the part of women to prove their capabilities in the same way as men.

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This trend has been reinforced - and continues to be so - by the harmonization of the legal positions of men and women.

To deal with the subject of this talk we need first to analyse woman's legal position within the family. In many European countries, such as the German Federal Republic, France, Belgium, Italy, Finland and Austria, women are guaranteed equal rights by the Constitution.

In the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Greece, the Constitution does not distinguish between the sexes. In Norway, a provision concerning the equality of rights is in the stages of preparation.

The equalization of the social and legal position of women is preceded by a long historical evolution. As early as the eighteenth century, the age of Enlightenment, women were claiming equal rights, on the basis of the precept that, by virtue of their nature, all human beings had the same rights. For a hundred and fifty years they fought continuously to obtain equal civil rights, equal access to educational institutions, the right to work independently and equal rights within the family.

In the German Federal Republic the legal pre-eminence of the man inside the family was maintained until the coming into force of the Constitution, in 1949. The equality of rights the German Constitution guarantees to women is an application of a more general principle of equality. For this reason it should not be seen as an absolute and formal equality between the sexes. The legislator can - and must - take into account natural and functional differences between the sexes. And this is why men and women, because of their sex, occupy specific positions and have specific rights and duties within marriage and the family. For instance, as mothers, women need such specific protection as is provided by the law on the protection of mothers. Moreover, the Constitution exempts women from military service. Equality of rights for women does not, therefore, amount to an abstract equality between the sexes. Rather, it is based on the notion that men and women are of equal value.

The equality guaranteed to women by the Constitution does not only concern civic rights, but also the whole legal system (i.e. public as well as private law). A great deal of statutory and legal changes were therefore required in various areas to implement it. And this was especially true in the case of matrimonial and family law.

Ladies and gentlemen, the replacement of a system in which only the man had the right to make decisions by one where the spouses are equal partners - on which I shall elaborate later - took place in the twenties in the Scandinavian countries, in the fifties in Belgium and Germany, and in the seventies in France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. In Italy, Austria and Switzerland, legal amendments concerning this point are now under study and these cover the equality of the spouses in general.

As far as parental authority is concerned, both parents have equal rights in the following countries: The German Federal Republic, France, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Belgium. This means that, in these countries, the parents have to come to an agreement. In the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Switzerland, the spouses are advised to take decisions together; in cases of disagreement, the man's decision will prevail. In Italy and Greece only the father has the power to decide. In Italy, however, a bill has been introduced to change this situation.

Due to lack of time, I shall not talk about the law on names. Just one brief comment, however: the German Parliament is now studying a bill which aims to end the man's pre-eminence in choosamily surname.

Another important aspect of the equality of rights concerns the married woman's right to work - a question which will no doubt be treated separately by other speakers.

In 1957, the German Federal Republic adopted as its legal marriage system that of a joint ownership of acquisitions, under which at the dissolution of the marriage - either through divorce or the husband's death - the property acquired jointly during the marriage must be divided in half, with one half going to the wife.

In most European countries, the law on divorce is based on the principle of guilt, with divorce itself being a penalty for a serious offence for instance committed by one of the spouses. In Great Britain and in the Netherlands, though, the notion of irretrievable breakdown of marriage has replaced that of the divorce penalty, since 1971. In West Germany, a similar bill has been introduced.

These various sets of laws show that women have not yet obtained total equality of rights, and that the evolutionary process in this direction is far from complete. However, the various bills now under study prove that all countries are working along the same lines to give women equal rights.

We can see that social changes have greatly influenced the position of women. Legislation has done much to replace the oppression of women by equality of rights. However, this equality has not yet permeated all aspects of everyday life. However, it is vital that it be fully implemented for, in my opinion, significant progress in the social evolutionary process cannot be achieved without equal contributions from men and women. We must achieve a division of labour between men and women, which is founded on the principle of partners with equal rights, both in the private sphere - i.e. the family- and in the economic and political fields. For this goal to be achieved, legal changes will not be enough. We must also fight to break down the psychological barriers which still survive in the public's mind against the granting of equal rights to men and women. A great deal of importance is attached to the traditional idea of a woman as relating primarily, and often exclusively, to the home and motherhood. And this still prevents a great number of girls from going on to further education and obtaining qualifications, because they expect to get married later and thus see their future material needs provided for. Often, the education and training of girls is seen as less important than that of boys.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me now talk about women in the family, in other words women at home, "housewives". In Germany, about 14 (fourteen) million women do not - or no longer have - an occupation. Of these, one third have children under 18 (eigtheen). 9.8. million women in Germany do have employment. The "place of work" of these 14 million is the home, the family. It may very well be to the housewife's benefit - as well as to her family's - that she should also have an activity outside her home, providing it is compatible with her family duties. However numerous a woman's tasks in the home may be, the children's education should always be considered the most important - his mother being generally the person with whom a child develops the most important relationship, especially in the first years. The importance of a child's education cannot be overestimated. We now know enough about the

deficiencies in children brought up in day nurseries and children's homes to avoid the mistake of drawing false conclusions. The main part of a child's education must remain his family's responsibility, to provide the medium for the optimum development of his individual and social self. In the future, the mother will continue to supervise the major part of a child's education within the family. A radical change in the system, whereby men would have to share these duties with women, would not only come up against obstacles in today's labour market, it would most likely also meet with a total lack of understanding on the part of most men - at least in the near future. A great many men would certainly give up the idea of starting a family, if they were suddenly faced with a totally different distribution of the family duties. Therefore, in the majority of cases, women will, in the future, retain their central role in the family, in spite of the trend - noticeable everywhere - toward equality of the sexes in the legal, political and social spheres. In any case, in the near future, today's basic situation will not be altered by the new conception of the family and marriage which all forces in society are calling for. The aim of this new concept is to substitute a spirit of co-existence and co-operation between married partners and between parents and children in place of the traditional patriarchal authority of the man within the family. Equal rights and powers for men and women within the family cannot remove the difference between the sexes.

As long as the main preoccupation of the State and society is not mere survival of the human race, generation after generation, but rather to ensure an optimum development of the social, economic and cultural order, the specific role of women will have to be respected and given institutional security. In almost all the countries where it has been put to the test, a radical equalization of men's and women's roles and legal positions has generated such serious disturbances that the government has been forced to correct these undesirable effects by taking special measures providing moral and material help.

A proof of this point can be found by studying the interplay between the family and external agents in the socialization of children (i.e. the process by which a child assimilates his social and cultural heritage). The attempts that have been made to transfer, as early and as completely as possible, the responsibility for children's education, socialization and personality development to institutions outside the family have not only had unsatisfactory results, they have also proved so costly that, at least for certain age groups, it was deemed vital to transfer this responsibility partly or totally back to the family, even when this required taking direct measures for the promotion of the family. It is not possible to replace a mother's affectionate devotion and sacrifice - and, to a certain extent, those of the father, brothers and sisters - by paid for services, even when these are provided by qualified staff, on account of the never ending costs this would entail for the community, and also considering that working hours are limited and that all workers are entitled to a holiday. This point becomes clear when one reflects that, in West Germany for instance, if it were officially taken into account and valued at the regular market rate, housewife's labour would amount to 40% of the Gross National Product, i.e. 400 billion DM a year (the German GNP is about one thousand billion DM).

In West Germany at least, recent developments will have decisive consequences for welfare policy. On the 1st of January, the family allowance system was standardized by abolishing the tax relief granted for each dependent child.

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Now the government will have to extend it in order not to discourage people who want to have several children. Among other things, the rate of the allowances will have to be differentiated to a greater extent according to the number of children in the family. And this will be all the more necessary as the financial burden of large families will have to be lightened. Our aim must be to ensure a disposable income above standard social and cultural needs, in order to reduce to a reasonable minimum the differences in standards of living between large families and couples that are either childless or have few children.

In the days when large families were the rule, overwork was the fate of the housewife and mother. Marriage brought children, and the parents had to do all they could to feed and educate them. Today, however, improvements in family planning through the development of contraceptives (particularly the increasing use of oral contraceptives) and the liberalisation of the abortion laws in many countries (some states even subsidise abortions) have made it easier to plan one's whole life, and this has resulted in many couples having fewer children or none at all.

In our country, more than 25% of young couples remain childless, and another 25% limit themselves to one child. As yet no in-depth study has been carried out on the motivation for such behaviour. But one is tempted to assume that people give up having children so as not to forego their jobs, or that they restrict the number of their children to enjoy a sufficient income, with family allowances, social benefits and tax relief to cover their basic needs. Never before and nowhere else in the world, have the consequences of such behaviour been studied. The birth rate of Germans living in their own country is only 60% of the total needed to maintain the present level of population, immigrants aside. During the last decade the birth rate has gone down by more than half. Similar trends - although maybe not as marked - have been recorded in almost all the developed countries. Thus, this is the first time that the rejuvenation of the population is being discussed as a problem, up to now the main problem having been overpopulation - which it still is, particularly in the Third World countries.

In this context, we should ask ourselves whether technological progress, longer working hours and other politically teasible conditions could successfully face up to the social challenge of an inverted demographic pyramid; and whether a reduced population could be the answer to the conflicts born of the constant demands made by industry on our precious space, conflicts which politics apparently cannot solve. One should emphasize that the taking on by the community of part of a family's financial burden, by means of a total refund of each child's educational costs, will not be enough of an incentive to have children, as long as there are no trustworthy politicians around ready to take on the responsibility of guaranteeing these children the right ecological conditions for their survival in the year 2000. Or else, perhaps we ought to promote political ideas which, while preserving our fundamental system based on freedom, would force us into accepting a reduction in our boundless demands for technical progress and facilities, a device which would save our limited natural resources of energy.

Ladies and gentlemen, I may seem to have wandered away from my subject. But is it not the duty of family women to think now about the future of their children?

For a couple to decide to have children today amounts to choosing a lower standard of living for at least the next twenty years, during which the children will be dependent on their family. It also means a reduced standard of living in the couple's old age, for their pension will only be sufficient to cover their basic needs. Discrimination against large families is reinforced by the increasing share of the community's income taken by the State - a development that can be observed in all countries. Indeed the head of a large family sees the fruits of his labour being increasingly whiffed away by taxes and welfare dues. The only remedy to this state of things would be a welfare policy which protects the income of large families.

What must come is a greater number of concrete measures in favour of couples who are willing to commit themselves to having children. Up to now, the prevailing idea was that the community had to take on some of the large families' burden by sharing the cost of the children's upbringing. We must now look beyond this seemingly worthwhile solution and find a new one. The question of the social benefits to be granted to the member of the family who does the housework is also being considered more and more seriously; and many countries already have a system of housewives' allowances. In the German Federal Republic, the Christian Democrats and the Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) parliamentary groups have already introduced a bill to help mothers in bringing up their children. It provides that when one of the spouses - normally, it would be the mother - gives up remunerative employment to devote him- or herself to the education of an infant, he or she will be entitled to a special allowance. Some German family organizations have long-term projects. They are considering a general educational allowance in all cases where the spouse in charge of the housekeeping has outside employment in addition to looking after an infant or several children below a certain age and finds him- or herself overworked as a result of this dual responsibility. Such devices have been under discussion for a long time with a view to keeping the mother with the family and to overcoming the financial difficulties that force mothers to work outside their homes.

Nurseries and other educational facilities for children over three are needed to complement family education, even when the mother does not work. The fact is that more and more children are growing up without brothers or sisters, or with only one; moreover, the age difference between them often is not ideal.

To achieve an optimum socialization and personality development, the child will need contact with other children outside his family, and preferably in nurseries. In any case these facilities are needed when a mother works part-time. If she works full-time, institutions to look after her child throughout the day become an absolute necessity - crèches for a child under school age and nurseries for older children. Because of the present shortage of full-time crèches, some couples who had planned for the wife to carry on working part-time may decide not to have children.

In the future, the government will have to take measures to guarantee families financial security proportionate to the number of children. A family with two or three children can no longer be seen as the ideal family, considering the great number of couples that want to remain childless or have no more than one child. To compensate for this, we need families willing to bring up four or five children. But we must also

guarantee such families sufficient material security. It would also be unrealistic to think that our societies can continue to bank on the total sacrifice of women at home, when they are subjected to ever increasing physical, psychological and nervous demands leading them to see themselves as second-class citizens in economic terms. The same applies if housewives with several children are given the impression that their life is not wholly useful because they do not take an active part in the country's economic life.

Investigations conducted by the German sociologist Helge Pross among non-working married women in West Germany have shown that housewives and mothers who do not work, although they may be satisfied with their lives, are not totally free from a latent feeling of unease, due to the fact that, not working, they do not feel wholly useful. If they can get that feeling while working an average of sixty hours a week in the house and bringing up their children, it must be the result of ideals unilaterally imposed on them by society. One of the prime tasks of modern society - and of public authorities - must therefore be to give fresh moral backing, and material too where needed, to the services rendered by women in the home.

In no way do I want to advocate specific behaviour patterns. One should not stop a woman from having a job in addition to her housework and the education of her children, as long as she feels able to do so. But she must be protected against the ideal imposed by society according to which all women should do so. Such ideas have nothing to do with promoting equal opportunities or with a soundly grasped defence of women's emancipation. On the contrary, they express a desire to channel all women into the labour market, and to exploit to the ultimate the working capacity of mothers and married women. The long-term consequences of such trends can be gauged. Marriage and the family would go down in the scale of values, and this would mean a blow to the family as the basic unit of a healthy public and social order.

Let me also mention the negative consequences which are bound to result from the liberalization of the law on divorce, under study at the moment in some countries including the German Federal Republic. To allow a divorce on the basis of the irretrievable breakdown of marriage in its most radical form - i.e. granting the divorce on demand by one of the spouses, even without the other's consent - could alter the attitude of both partners toward their life as a whole - and especially that of women who are generally more affected by a divorce. A married woman will have to plan her life in such a way as to be sure that, should it come to divorce, she will be able to earn a living for herself and for her children. The public authorities will then be faced with the additional task of supporting the divorced spouse in charge of the children, whenever the other is unable to do so. If the State does not provide the institution of marriage with sufficient protection from a legal standpoint, it will be forced to make up for it by taking social and economic measures to help the family unit reduced to one spouse with children. Legislators should start reflecting upon these consequences now. At present, on the contrary, in many countries - and in accordance with the rigorous social

and political ideals - amendments to the law on divorce tend to claim greater freedom for the individual, while neglecting to provide a framework insuring his absorption into a community ruled by moral standards.

I would like to finish with a few remarks. We should say yes to the emancipation of women, but only if it is understood in its fullest meaning. Emancipation does not mean imposing set roles on women. It means allowing them the freedom to reach their own decisions concerning their lives. This freedom of choice should be ensured by giving girls a professional training which would allow them to provide independently for their own needs. The decision to marry and start a family could then be considered a free choice, and not just one dictated by elementary survival needs. If a woman chooses marriage and the family, she should be ready to take on the roles provided for her by these institutions, and this will be the case as long as different arrangements - conceivable under other circumstances - are not socially accepted and agreed upon. Marriage and family law should guard against total equality between the sexes, rather, it should take into account the specific differences between the two. Today, as in the past, this remains the best institutional guarantee for preserving the role of women in the family.

We say yes to co-existence between a man and a woman considered as partners. This means a greater contribution on the part of the man in the family duties. There still remains the hurdle of overcoming social prejudices against a man's participation in the housework. When we talk about women in the family, we should look ahead to the days when the children no longer depend on the family. In many cases, as soon as the children have left home or as soon as they are independent, the woman will want to go back to her job. Nobody should stop her. On the contrary, the State should promote this option as much as possible. On the basis of the law for the promotion of employment, the German Federal Republic offers many forms of assistance to help women go back to work. On the other hand, middle-aged women should not be forced to go back to work: often, an older woman will have enough to do at home, even if her children have already left. In many cases, she will act as an adviser and help in bringing up and looking after her grandchildren. And one should not forget either that unmarried children, even when they have left home, can still be a source of problems and work. Therefore, one should not glance enviously at middle-aged women who seem to have only "a little cleaning-up" to do.

Let us now give our final assessment. A woman's role in her family is, as a rule, one that keeps her fully employed throughout her life, and one that deserves respect from society. The periods of heaviest work in a woman's life follow a different rhythm from that of a man's working life. Assessing all the duties in a woman's life, one has to acknowledge that they are about equivalent to the amount of work done by a man in a lifetime, even if the woman has not had any outside job over long periods. Let us not forget either that husbands, whose work requires their absence from home, can only be successful in their profession because their wives free them from most of the housework. All things considered, a woman's role in her family should be equalled to the activity of a working man. If a woman has a job in addition to working in the house and bringing up children, her husband must help her in the house.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you about a human experience which illustrates the valuable role played by a woman in the family. Recently, I read in a magazine an article written by a "housewife" who - after having led the life of a modern woman, independant, active and earning a good living - had become a housewife and felt in no way oppressed, enslaved or exploited. She felt she could still develop her personality and her own lifestyle; she did not see herself as a miserable creature in need of liberation from her bonds; simply, she confessed: "Sorry, but I am happy".

Group I report

(Paris 23/8/75)

Women in the Family

1. We have studied Mrs.Stommel's report with which we were in general agreement and we were fortunate to have her participation in our group.
2. Our primary concern was to look at ways in which women can reconcile their role as wife and mother, with its special importance for the upbringing of young children, and their work outside the home, with the attendant rewards, not only financial but more particularly in personal fulfilment and satisfaction.
3. This Conference is studying this theme because in all countries the situation is changing. New forms of participation in the family are developing. The group emphasised the need for choice, which must be accompanied by sharing work within the family. It was said that the upbringing and education of children in the home was too important a matter to leave to women, and that politics and public life were too important to be left to men alone.

However, attention was drawn to economic difficulties which make this an unattainable ideal for many. About two-thirds of women who work do so out of economic necessity, not through choice. One-parent families are increasing in number, and are generally very poor. And for many in what is being called the 4th World - that is the poor in industrial Europe - poverty rules out any choice for most women.

4. The choice for women should be not just about when to go out to work. Several members of the group emphasised Mrs.Stommel's point that the role of women in the home has been under-valued - it was said that her productivity at home is as important as any other form of productivity.

We learnt that some countries have introduced special allowances for a parent staying at home to look after a young child, and that France is now debating the form that such an allowance should take. I think I can say that there was general agreement in the group that some allowance of this kind should be advocated in all countries.

5. The importance of the law was discussed. Many countries now have legislation, passed or planned, to prevent discrimination of the sexes. We learnt from the Ivory Coast that the new Civil Code forbids polygamy and the dowry system, but it was pointed out that traditional attitudes and practice take a long while to die, particularly in a rural community. In these rural communities where the extended family still exists the question of the women's role has not become such a perplexing matter at present.

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6. We recognised that education has a vital part to play in emphasising the importance of family life and in breaking down the stereotyped images of men and women. It was said that children should be educated for a more total role, in which they will become accustomed to the idea of partnership in the family. On this theme I made the point which we have discussed in the Commission on Marriage and Marriage Guidance (though this point was not discussed in our group) that the important changes in the role of women which we discussed have such a profound effect upon the marriage relationship and on the role of men that it is impossible to consider the role of one without the other. Perhaps the International Union should now press for a Year of the Man, or a Year of the Couple.

But this was not discussed in the group, where we concentrated on the topic of women in the family; the need to provide a wider range of choice for women and for more opportunities for sharing in the family, and on the economic, legal, educational and cultural changes needed to accomplish these important objectives. But it was emphasised that all these changes must reinforce and not de-value the importance of family life with regard to the upbringing of the children, the satisfactions of the parents and the structure of present society.

N.J. Tyndall

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FAMILY
Paris, 22 to 23 August 1975

ESSAY ON THE WORKING WOMEN AND
FAMILY LIFE

by

Mlle Agnès PITROU
Sociologist (France)

This essay is intended to pave the way for a discussion which will enable each of the participants, during this periode of change, to obtain an understanding of the problems of the working women as they exist in their own country. In what follows, therefore, we shall not attempt to give a detailed outline of the situation in any specific country, instead we shall simply try to review the questions that appear to be being asked around the world in connection with the increasingly vocal claims of women to be able to fully participate in all the key activities in the communal life of their country.

Introduction

The reasons for tackling the subject of the relationship between the working and family lives of women appear to be highly topical. (In passing, would it not also be interesting to ask the same question with regard to men? Does the general silence around the subject mean that they have found the perfect balance, or is it that this question would itself raise questions they would rather not face?) Wherever one looks around the world one sees rapid developments taking place in the position of women and their hopes and dreams. In some countries this is against the background of an accelerated transition from rural life to industrial society and from traditional tasks to highly complex technical work, with an accompanying change in the educational and professional training given to women. At the same time the family structure themselves are undergoing a rapid transformation. In industrial societies women regard a working life as one of the means of achieving equality with men with regard to social position and opportunities for making their voice heard in communal life, whilst here too the forms of marital and family life are undergoing considerable change. At all events, the great stress laid in most if not all of our societies on an increased G N P and consequently on higher productivity implies a code of values in which social status is dictated by one's position within the productive system. One can therefore readily understand the wish of women, which they share with men, to participate in this system under the most advantageous conditions for themselves.

In its Resolution 1849 (LVI), which deals with International Women's Year the U.N. makes its position very clear: "To ensure the full integration of women in the global effort of economic, social

.../

and cultural development" (preamble). Then: "To promote the equality of economic rights, including the right to work and the right to equal pay for equal work, as well as non-discrimination in employment opportunities and security of employment after marriage".

That women are involved in productive work is not a new phenomenon in any of our societies, but it has taken on new forms which give it a new importance and at the same time highlight the conflict with a certain form of family life. On the one hand, changes have taken place in the manner in which family duties are carried out, where they are carried out, and the length of the time they take up; on the other, there appears to be an increasing link between productive work and participation in communal life.

I. Woman has specific difficulties in becoming integrated into the working world when it is industrialised

The familiar facts from most countries show that the status of the working woman in the industrialised world (including the rural countries with some degree of technology) is still not equal to that of men:

1) Inequality of opportunity in a professional career, linked to the sexual discrimination at all levels: recruitment, promotion, and access to positions of responsibility and the higher echelons.

This inequality permeates through to the level of salaries, the lack of standing of the traditional female occupations of posts entrusted to women, and the fact that most of the time the major posts are filled by men.

This problem ties in with that of the industrial organisation on the one hand (and the mentality that reigns there) and on the other with that of the education given to girls in comparison with boys) and the family influence which tends to minimise the importance of schooling for girls).

2) Working conditions. In most countries women enjoy special protection under labour legislation, without, however, their working conditions necessarily being better than those of men anymore compatible with fulfilling family duties. Here we find ourselves facing a difficult problem: should women be guaranteed special working conditions in relation to men (for example, which take into account their different physical capacities and family circumstances), but at the price of increased discrimination and at the risk of reducing her working capacity in terms of productivity, or should our efforts be directed towards bringing women's working conditions more into line with those of men?

3) The dispute surrounding the so-called female occupations and female duties

One fact stands out: as soon as an occupation is given the label "female", it is immediately downgraded from the point of view of remuneration and the social respect attaching to it. As against that, the arguments, particularly those psychological or intellectual in nature, on which this discrimination was based, appear to be being increasingly refuted by serious scientific research and proof of the actual state of affairs.

II. The central problem of the working woman revolves around the compatibility between her duties to her family and to her employment

1) What form does this conflict take? It exists on three levels:

- practical problems: interrupting work for maternity leave, the difficulty of having young infants looked after, children falling ill, household chores to be done after work, and the working hours required by her occupation.

- psychological problems: male reaction to the female's absence, the threat to his interests (fear of divorce and extra-marital affairs), education of the children: is the mother's role irreplaceable, and for how long?

- ideological problems: the concept of the woman's role, the value attached to maternity and the educational tasks or the emphasis on the free choice of the woman to develop her capabilities and to put them at the service of society's functions.

2) What are the arguments put forward by the advocates and adversaries of the working woman?

- The adversaries: a woman's place is in the home where she can best deploy her responsibilities, independence and emotional and spiritual qualities. The role of mother has an irreplaceable value which in itself gives life its meaning. Outside worries can only interfere with and distract from this role. Women who go out to work are contributing both materially and morally to the decline of their country. Woman's natural talents make her more suited to fulfilling a private role than one in public or outside the home. Moreover, in those countries where there has been a significant drop in the birth rate the demographic future is at risk if women withdraw en bloc from their traditional role.

- The advocates: the money brought in by the woman raises the family's standard of living and allows improvements to be made in living conditions, especially when the woman is alone through being either deserted, divorced or widowed, but even in normal cases. Work outside the home allows the woman to fully develop her personality and her capabilities; she opens up to the outside world, widens her horizon and keeps up some social contact. Woman's contribution to the scientific and technical heritage, to the organisation of society and its development is irreplaceable and indispensable, and the same applies to her productive capacity. The woman's role of teacher can be replaced either within the home by the husband or outside by the educational services. This work only takes up part of a woman's life and then she has difficulty in re-entering the labour market if she wants to take up an occupation again. Also, the fact that work outside the home opens her up to the outside world places the mother in a better position to fulfil her role as educator and to do it more intelligently.

III. Attempts and solutions that have been adopted or planned

In the face of the increasing risk of conflict between the work of running a family and holding down a job, or perhaps as a result of realising the difficulties which women are forced to face, or perhaps again to encourage women to work or to discourage them during their years of maternity, most governments have taken or proposed a number of measures and initiatives have been taken by private associations, all of which converge in various aims:

1) to end the inequality existing between the work of men and women:

- legislative measures: (a ban on discrimination in employment according to sex, salary, promotion and career)
- the development of education for girls, including technical and university education; co-education on an equal basis for boys and girls.
- attempts to alter the image of the status of man and woman; mass media, ideas contained in books, including school books, opinion campaigns. The fight against a doubtful psychology concerning the capabilities of men and women.

2) To upgrade the role of the mother at home to enable a choice to be made between work outside the home and family duties:

- allowances for mothers who undertake the education of their own children: the right to an old age pension; schemes to give mothers a salary.
- various forms of aid for mothers in their work of teaching and rearing their children (advice, courses etc.).
- opportunities to return to work once her children's education has been completed.

3) Easier access for women occupations and help once they have a job

- part-time work allowing women to devote the rest of their time to their family and domestic duties.
- flexible or specially adapted working hours (though still putting in a full working day), leave to look after children when ill.

The question often heard in many countries on this point is: ought we not to improve the working conditions of all workers, men and women alike, instead of operating a system which discriminates in favour of the latter, by reducing their working hours for example?

4) To develop the communal services which help for women

- domestic services at home (home helps)
- childcare services for the very young
- educational facilities
- outside domestic services to provide assistance in housework, cooking, and laundry

5) To reorganise domestic and family life

- a better division of labour between men and women in all domestic and educational tasks (for example, leave to be given to both spouses to look after a child), and therefore to give boys and girls the same training in this work whilst they are at school.
- symplifying household chores: electric machines and gadgets to aid the housewife.

The measures favouring a redistribution of family duties are founded upon the all-round benefits to the family unit, to mutual understanding between man and wife, and to the education of the children to be gained by a greater spirit of working together within the home.

IV. Can woman's contribution to communal life take other forms than having a job?

Generally speaking, the wide range of opportunities offered in the running and development of communal, political and social life provide women with their own outlets, which the woman who is not out at

work ought to be able to follow more easily, since she has more time and means to do so. This would be a sort of gradual apprenticeship in communal roles outside the home.

It has already been observed in many industrialised countries that working women are often the ones most involved in other communal activities. Perhaps their position gives them more self-confidence, greater independence and a wider range of contacts. Or perhaps it is the case that those involved in voluntary activities that amount to more than pottering about quickly feel the urge to enter into a real working life.

It appears, therefore, that women do not so much abandon their working life for other communal work but rather progress from one to other while still keeping on the former.

Conclusion

1) The range of measures proposed to make it easier for women to combine their working and family responsibilities reveals the number and diversity of problems to be overcome around the world if women are to be integrated into working life. At present it appears to many as a hurdle to be cleared in order that women achieve a position of responsibility in the community. The problem of conflict between work and home appears to stem primarily from the dehumanizing voiling aspect of the work for both men and women, and secondly from the still unfair division of family responsibilities between the two partners.

2) The problem of the relationship between a working life and woman's position which assures her an involvement in communal and social life equivalent to that of men is linked to society's scale of values. While the work of educating children is increasingly taken on by society i.e. in schools, while running a family is restricted to the needs of consumption, while excessive importance is attached to productive work, woman's role in the home will continue to be down-graded and woman herself robbed of her identity.

But it must also be recognised that there exists a complete ideological background which gave and continues to give man his social predominance and which tends to place communal responsibilities on his shoulders. If one really feels that this situation must be altered and the balance shifted, radical change is necessary. This is undoubtedly the cause of the passionate debates, the difficulties facing woman in shaking off these trammels, and the fact that it is hard to make men listen to questions which strike at some of their prerogatives. But if change is to be achieved, that is the path society must follow.

WORKING WOMEN WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

Report of the Second Committee, presented by Mme Ilse Rau

Even if women were to achieve full integration into working life all around the world, this would not in itself mean that the situation of woman as woman is given full recognition.

Women mainly occupy the positions that do not require any qualification (unskilled labour, shop assistants) - often for lower wages - and temporary posts, the latter being presented as tailor made for women's capabilities. This work, however, bestows upon woman a minor status within society and does not encourage her own self-respect. Women can be interchanged, they are at society's disposal, at a disadvantage with regard to promotion, salary and social benefits, and they are the first to be shown the door when an economic crisis descends.

Women are also welcome in the helping and service occupations, and also find acceptance in primary and secondary education, professions regarded as being fitted to their "specifically feminine aptitudes". The need for these supposedly specific qualities has been strongly questioned by recent scientific findings; those studying education are in fact insisting on professional male teachers playing a part as well.

Women are rare figures in the higher professions, and rarer still in political life.

This disparity between the innate capabilities that women have to offer and what they actually achieve in professional and political life results from the scale of values of the social environment and the process of socialisation which this society - mainly represented by the parents - has put them through. If, therefore, we wish to "ensure the full integration of woman in the global effort of economic, social and cultural development (the U.N.), we must start at the bottom, i.e. with the education of children.

Education is qualified work, "a productive activity with a deferred end product", which ought to be given its true worth both by and for the two natural teachers, the mother and father. Whilst biology decreed that woman should conceive, bear and suckle her child, the work of teaching and looking after the home is not restricted to either sex and involves equally the father and the mother.

If the partners can therefore agree on how the family chores are to be divided and if a sort of maintenance payment can be given for the education of young children (though this must not be in the form of almsgiving for the person providing the education), women will find it easier to make their way into working life and a both she and her husband will have the opportunity of making a choice.

It is important not to lose sight of the fact that in our industrialised societies and individual's position within society is determined by his position in working life. It can also be observed that for the most part the women holding positions within the community are also those who go out to work.

Voluntary work

Especially in the ways in which this is undertaken by women, voluntary work only rarely helps to give women some status and cannot therefore be regarded as a worthwhile substitute for an occupation. This is not to deny the value of voluntary work which will always be given extra emphasis by Governments at times of economic recession, but then it should be made available for both sexes!

For household work to be given a definite upgrading parents need the consent and support of society and its legislation.

Examining the various countries we find that this support ranges from the minimum to wider, more differentiated systems of protecting the family. Consider the following examples:

- In Tunisia only 30 days maternity leave are granted, with a possible further 15 on medical advice.
- In Italy, by way of contrast, there is maternity leave of 2 months before the birth and 3 months after, with the possibility of taking another 6 months on 30% of the salary last earned. It is also possible to take unlimited, though non-paid leave if a child under the age of 3 falls ill, with the guarantee that one's post will be held open.
- In Canada, particularly in Quebec, a statute was drawn up and which was immediately given legal validity, which is against protectionist measures for women and favours a redistribution of parental authority between both parents. The statute is based on a reductions in the number of working hours for men and women and the introduction of flexi-time.

Between these two extremes we find a variety of situations ranging from small-scale solutions on a point by point case basis (I am thinking here of the various systems of family allowances, crèche and day-nursery schemes, opportunities for returning to work) to working out plans for the "education of mentalities" which would make the "educating conscience" less dependent on government grants. This education of mentalities aims to replace the profit motive by a community spirit, and to give couples a free choice in their activities, freed from feelings of guilt towards their children, and to create a society which shows an interest in and is willing to cooperate with their children.

To achieve this mental reform, discussions and experiments are taking place in various places with the introduction after the 6th year at school of courses on the educational sciences, domestic management and family law.

Alongside these long-term efforts, which also include gaining recognition for maternity as a social function as well as a private matter (remember the phrase: productive activity with a deferred end product) it behoves society to take upon itself and encourage immediate efforts, such as:

- the experiment in the Netherlands where 300 couples (with Government help and guidance) are trying to achieve a complete sharing of family and occupational duties within their "symmetrical families";
- a study of the problem of keeping jobs open for mothers absent on maternity leave and the education of young children as compared with the legislation applying to men returning to work after military service;

- or again, to study, encourage and subsidize pilot schemes of private groups (household groups, day-nurseries or parents joining together to operate a rota system of looking after children with professional guidance, etc) with a view to promoting the aforementioned community spirit.

The committee was able to agree on one precise goal: the equitable division of chores and rights between men and women, with a view to promoting not competition but harmony and cooperation.

Seen from this standpoint, the problem of a "free choice" between working at home and having a job, which women have been so passionately demanding in the debates on emancipation, applies equally to men.

For an individual to have a real choice at the various stages of decision in his life there must be a socialisation process which is undertaken in a community spirit, and a system of education and occupational training which can lead to qualifications.

Viewed thus, the problem is a matter demanding a response from citizens everywhere, of both sexes and regardless of country.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FAMILY
Paris, August 22 - 23, 1975

WOMEN AND SOCIETY

by

Mme Gaudence Habimana Nyirasafari
Secrétaire Général du Ministère des Affaires Sociales (Rwanda)Introduction: Exposition of the problem

The whole range of problems concerning the promotion of women is one of the major fronts of activity in current international life.

As everyone is aware of the importance of this question, and its complexity, and since it will not be possible for me to provide a general view of the situation, I shall be brief. I shall restrict myself to simply putting before you some topics for further consideration based upon trends currently observed in the process of change in woman's position. A concise analysis of these changes will enable us to draw a general picture of an evolution whose speed varies according to the society concerned, but which had to come and cannot now be stopped. Nor will I concern myself with the statistics available on the subject as they have already been adequately dealt with by the speakers on education and employment.

When we come to examine the position of women in society one wonders what else can be said. The problem is not a new one and in fact goes back to the mists of time. What is perhaps new is the position it occupies in current international life and in the national and regional development programmes, not forgetting the unanimous desire of all nations and states to take active steps to sweep away the various forms of practical discrimination against women and to give justice, peace and equality to all citizens without regard to sex.

For thousands of years, and more particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, studies on the position of women have been multiplying and countless papers have been written on the subject: essays, pamphlets, novels, works of a historical nature, others psychological, moral, philosophical, sociological and legal. Seminars and conferences are becoming and increasingly common phenomenon. More recently still, the U.N. decided to underline the importance of the problem by declaring 1975 International Women's Year and by organising in Mexico the first world conference on the theme.

One strand of thought holds all these writings and all the resolutions of these numerous debates together: in all the countries of the world women are the victim of a discrimination whose intensity varies according to country and political regime.

Another image of women has been handed down through the centuries by social history as we see it in such writings as the Bible, the works of Confucius, those of the Greek and Roman authors of antiquity and the Middle Ages when the Church Fathers still wondered whether women actually possessed a soul or not, and so on right down to the present day; this is the image of woman as a social inferior even if some civilisations,

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African countries for example, give women an idealised image in her role of mother.

But regardless of the precise form of this image, men and women have different status and roles in every country of the world:

- woman's role is mainly confined to the home; playing spouse, mother and housekeeper
- the man's role is enacted largely outside the home, particularly in public life (above all in the political and economic spheres).

As regards the status of women in the traditional societies, we can observe that the inequality between man and woman is enshrined in law, as various customs reveal:

- the dowry tradition;
- polygamy;
- women barred from the right of inheritance in African countries;
- the patriarchal system; children belong to the father, not the mother;
- women keeping strictly to the family role (spouse, mother and housekeeper) while the man must concern himself with matters outside the family, and in social and political life in general;
- various taboos and prohibitions mainly concerning women (particularly where food is involved);
- the strict demarcation of male and female roles, though they still complement each other.

The extent of this separation varies according to different societies:

- in the African societies influenced by the Muslim civilisation, women became almost total recluses. They were forbidden to appear in public without their face being hidden by a veil
- in other societies, Black Africa for example, women were also engaged in economic activities outside the home: in the fields, at the market, at wells to draw water or gathering wood for the fire.

In the Third World the colonial system continued the difference in status between men and women, and here women were doubly oppressed by their own society and the colonial structure. This applies to the following:

Vietnam;
South Africa;
Black America

- Boys were sent to school while girls generally had to stay at home to help the mother with the domestic chores;
- only men were employed in the colonial companies and administration (as secretaries, typists, book-keepers, nurses and temporary civil servants etc.);
- in Rwanda in particular, women remained at home for long periods while the men were drafted into forced labour for the feudalists and colonists.

This it was that tradition confined women to the home and prevented her from participating in social and political life, primarily because her household chores were so numerous and were constantly repetitive and because of the view that woman should not meddle in politics except in an indirect and unobtrusive manner.

This image of woman became crystallised in the mentalities of various peoples all through history and lives on at the present day in several societies in the Third World.

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However, recent studies in the sociological and social anthropological fields have shown that this image we have just mentioned is not a natural phenomenon, as our ancestors claimed, but has been formed by social history and society.

As we shall see below, women's status springs from a certain determinism.

II The factors determining woman's social position

1. First there is the biological factor, which covers everything to do with child-bearing, suckling and caring for children.

Men and women are distinguished by sex. The fundamental differences are the phenomena of ovulation and the mammary glands which are functional for women. These determine both the primary and secondary sexual characteristics.

The primary sexual characteristics are generally made subject to various taboos and restraints whereas the secondary characteristics are regularly revealed in dress, beauty aids, children's games and education, which lead us to attribute to human nature traits which actually are the result of the social, cultural and educational environment. For example, by choosing a doll for a little girl and a weapon or the construction of a hut for a little boy they are pointed towards their roles as adults, father and mother, the traditional roles of men and woman.

2. The psychological factor

People are fond of saying that through her sweet and fragile nature, and through the deep ties uniting mother and child, and because of the irreplaceable role the mother plays in the child's life, woman seems made to stay at home and man to enter into public life. This factor stems therefore from biology.

For example: psychological conditioning through children's games and the way they learn social and family roles, the exaggerated importance attached to secondary sexual characteristics, all of which constantly reinforces the idea that girls are made differently from boys and must therefore behave differently i.e. femininely. The process is further reinforced by education in general:

- more importance is attached to the education of boys than of girls;
- in the choice of profession and occupation there is a marked split between typically feminine and typically male professions.

Also contained in this psychological determinism is the idea of male and female roles complementing each other, as described by the Dutch psychologist, Buijtendijk, in his work "Women, their modes of being, manifestation and existence". It is well understood that it is the female role which is complementary to that of the male, as the existentialist Simone de Beauvoir subtly pointed out by calling her book: *The Second Sex*, second in the sense of less important, second class.

3. The socio-cultural factor

This means the crystallization of woman's position in mentalities down the ages, through her socialisation and her socio-economic conditions i.e. the overwhelming force of education, religion and customs. It is above all this socio-cultural factor that exerts a strong influence on the first two, and hence it is that woman's position is essentially tied to the socio-cultural

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conditions of society. It also explains the great differences in behaviour between a Chinese woman and an African, Soviet or American woman, for example, in their mode of dress, their work, and in their choice of occupation.

It is also thanks to the socio-cultural influence that the biological and psychological factors involved in the position of woman are undergoing a process of change and are following the trends of modern science and technology. Contraceptives, for example, do much to alter woman's biological and psychological conditions.

New developments such as bottle-feeding and the responsible attitude to parenthood basically alter the image of being a mother. The same is true of such innovations as artificial insemination and the anticipated suppression of menstruation etc.

Thus, talk of liberating or promoting women is primarily a matter of breaking down a misunderstanding, taking up a challenge and dispelling a view of things which rests mainly on ignorance. This will be no mean task as the misunderstanding is none the less real for being a misunderstanding.

At the current stage of development some men, particularly in the under-developed countries, are gripped by panic when they hear mention of liberating or promoting women. The resistance of ambivalent attitude displayed by these men towards contraception or family planning are connected with the persistence of the traditional image of relationships between men and women, i.e. the roles of mother and father.

As to the idea of male physical superiority, scientists have confirmed that physiologically men are less resistant than women (e.g. the male mortality rate is higher from childhood onwards). Furthermore, the introduction of modern technology into daily life has reduced the need for physical strength. This criterion of physical strength is therefore a relative one. One should also recall the typical image of traditional Africa, where the woman is seen carrying a heavy load, with her baby on her back, while the man follows with dignity but without carrying anything.

III The development of woman's social position

Despite the survival in some places of this traditional image of woman, the world has its gaze turned towards the future and is resolute in its decision to ensure that as nations develop men and women should be given true equality of opportunity.

This wish for progress and for the promotion of women is much in evidence and can already be seen in practice in many examples at local, regional, national and international level. Let us look at just a few:

- In modern or industrialised societies there is a less rigid segregation between male and female roles. There is a very marked trend towards the equalization of male and female roles; this is the case in socialist countries, the U.S.A. and Western Europe.

- Contrary to tradition which declares some tasks to be womans' sole domain, the best chefs and couturiers are men. In Rwanda the majority of domestic staff is male. There are also female mechanics, architects, managing directors, ministers, soldiers, engineers, lawyers, doctors, heads of State etc. Then again, men are to be found as secretaries, in crafts and in textiles.
- Behind their school desks girls are having as much success as boys in any subject you are to mention, including such traditionally male fields as the technical and scientific fields, particularly in maths, medicine, engineering etc.
- There is also a very pronounced tendency in fashion towards equality of the sexes, witness trousers and hairstyles. This free and easy attitude of youth towards dress is very refreshing and this desexualisation of clothing goes some way towards fulfilling the wish for an abolition of the gap between the sexes. For example, the expression "to wear the trousers" no longer has the same pejorative overtones for a woman that it once had. We can therefore observe that at the heart of every society there is a desire to escape from the restraints of the traditional images of man and woman.
- This tendency to reduce the differences between the roles and activities assigned to each sex impies a more just division of responsibilities within the family and in public life, completely sweeping aside relations based on the notion of superiority and inferiority.

Some factors in the development of woman's position

- Increased education of women which has lessened her inferiority complex with regard to men since they now acquire the same knowledge and abilities.
- Improved economic situation: because of her better education woman has access to more and more jobs in the public and private sectors from which she receives her own income and greater opportunities of improving her situation without having to count too much on men.
- Involvement in mixed or socio-feminine movement which have helped to break the traditional silence observed by women. She is able to express herself in public and involve herself as much as she wishes in joint action in women's clubs, confessional movements, political parties etc. These social movements also do much to establish permanent groups, to strengthen solidarity between women of different backgrounds and to aid a greater awareness of current social and family problems.
- Scientific and technological progress especially in the industrialized countries which has taken much of the drudgery out of housework by modern utensils and equipment, and also science which has given women control over their frailty and their sexual lives through the modern methods of birth control.
- Far-reaching changes within the family, connected with the liberation of women.

Societies in all its aspects everywhere is tending to replace the family and to take over its functions:

- 1) Education: from now on schools will provide the child's instruction
 - 2) Production: the family no longer works together in the fields. Men, and more and more women, work for someone else for a paid remuneration.
- To meet the demands of development, urbanisation, industry and employment, modern states are mobilizing all their human resources to build up the nation and to foster socio-economic development. The abundance of female

labour will find its place in this work.

Legislation: considerable efforts have been made in this field:

- The revision of out-of-date laws, e.g. the abortion laws in France and elsewhere.
- The promulgation of new laws, especially in the countries that have recently achieved independence e.g. the Family Code in the Ivory Coast, China etc... These ensure protection for the family, women and children by ending the tyranny of certain customs and traditions.

Nevertheless, the present social situation demands that women give more thought to their status and show greater will-power. They must grasp that they themselves are the best instrument of pushing their cause through. They must alter the mentality created for them by history and learn to absorb such traits as initiative, energy, a more wide-ranging outlook and objectivity, which will help them to surmount the difficulties, excesses and contradictions bound up with any evolutionary process.

IV Pressures and obstacles still blocking the total integration of woman into modern society

In recent years the U.N. has formulated various relevant instruments such as the declaration on the abolition of discrimination against women, which member countries can use to improve the living conditions of women. Despite the national plans introduced, the progress of women in the various has been slow and irregular: strong discrimination against women still exists.

Let us examine some of the facts:

- 1) The persistence of traditions and customs which relegate women to an inferior position. Examples of this are:
 - a) the African institutions of the dowry and polygamy, and the customs concerning widows.
 - b) Almost everywhere the practice of keeping mistresses and prostitution relegate women to a position which is not in keeping with the dignity and the worth of human beings.
- 2) The high proportion of illiterate women and the general lack of education, particularly in Third World countries. This general ignorance encourages a certain apathy among women.
- 3) The lack of any extensive occupational training necessarily produces towards women in the area of employment. When parents have very limited resources for the education of their children, the boy is always the one to be favoured.
- 4) The contribution made by single women to society is neither appreciated nor fully recognized.
- 5) The problems involved in the three-fold role that women play in society, as housekeeper, mother and either wage-earner, farmer or business woman prevent her being an active citizen, participating in political and professional organisations.

Due to these heavy and numerous domestic chores women are often overwhelmed and frustrated. Some of the factors responsible are:

- Repeated pregnancies and education children in some African countries, particularly where there is no family planning.
- Social habits (mostly African), authorising parental involvement in household affairs.
- In the Third World, domestic work is still characterised by that slowness which incurs a loss of precious time for want of good domestic appliances.

Woman therefore continues to fulfil her traditional role within the family

whilst taking up her modern role in public life, but man's traditional role disappears and he is able to concentrate on his modern role, hence producing greater efficiency among men.

- 6) The indifference displayed by some educated women and some upper class women with regard to working life and woman's civil and political responsibilities.
- 7) Woman's economic, social and psychological dependence on men, the lack of confidence and pride in their own achievements and those of other women, e.g. women voters not voting for female candidates.
- 8) Woman is her own worst enemy for she is the one who transmits to her children traditional images by educating boys and girls differently.
- 9) Particularly in African countries, the woman who has no husband or family is still subject to hostility in a society in which woman can only achieve dignity through marriage and having a family.
Then, if a woman is to succeed socially she must first provide herself with a bread-winner, a husband to be precise, whilst this prerequisite of success does not apply to men.
Also, when a man fails in his professional life while his wife succeeds, the families of the couple and society in general will disapprove of this state of affairs, which perhaps will somewhat discourage the woman.
- 10) Men still harbour feelings of hostility towards women, particularly towards their holding top positions.

Example:

In the Soviet Union where nearly 30% of the political representatives are women (as opposed to less than 2% in France), women of the lower classes are often employed in occupations as strenuous as those reserved for men: labourers, refuse collectors etc. However, when it comes to managerial positions, the majority of these are still held by men. Few Russian women are secretaries of the Party Committee. In China women ministers are rare, but there are several female deputy ministers.

In most countries where efforts are being made to involve women in public life, their participation is still channeled down one avenue, for even when they are given important posts in public administration these are always connected with the educational, family, social and medical fields. This of course is harking back to woman's role within the home. It is rather the exception for a woman to act as ambassador, public administrator, judge, lawyer or manager of a bank or factory. In journalism the few women in leading positions have to fight to prevent themselves being systematically assigned to the women's columns or the socio-cultural sections.

- 11) Another surprising factor is that in some countries, particularly the industrialised ones, the principle of equal pay for equal work has not yet established itself.
- 12) The female managerial staff at the UN General Secretariat do not even muster 10% of the total, and in all countries women are still inadequately represented in government and management.
One could go on to give hundreds of other examples from daily life but it is not possible to present an exhaustive list here.

CONCLUSION

- a) Improving the lot of women does not mean:
 - The total and unconditional surrender of her traditional role in the home, or the reversal of male and female roles;
 - Simply imitating man by taking his as the model for attitudes and behaviour;

- That women of the Third World should imitate the cultural models of the industrialised countries, which are wrongly considered as the pioneers of progress, as each society must remain true to itself.
- b) Progress will be achieved in direct proportion to the degree of involvement that women are given in the active life of the nation. It will also depend, however, on society making available to woman adequate means to enable her to carry out her new tasks as citizen, wife, mother and housekeeper in conjunction with the new demands made of her by socio-economic developments within society. The fact of being woman and mother should cease to be a reason for discrimination against the female sex. In other words, research is called for to find ways of adapting and integrating the new functions of the family into those of a society undergoing radical changes at all levels. Steps must be taken to ensure that changes in society go hand in hand with a development of mentalities and attitudes within the family. In any case, the determinism of the so-called female nature, which would explain her stable position, is no longer valid.
Coming on to what concrete action can be taken by the IUFO to eliminate discrimination towards women in our society, may I remind the audience that at the World Conference on International Women's Year recently held in Mexico, the delegates of all UN member states approved a draft plan for world-wide action which would encourage the total integration of women into the socio-economic life of their country and the world. This plan is not without flaws and needs to be adapted according to the needs of each state and society. It would be desirable for each of the member organisations of the UN to take particular notice of this plan and to do its best to put it into practice, in a joint effort by men and women who are aware that the human personality flourishes and society progresses through the interworking of the male and female elements present in us all and which combine to form the human race.

Report of the Third Committee,
presented by Mr. Jacqueline Ancelin of the Caisse Nationale des
Allocations des Familiales

In her introduction to the topic of "Woman in society"
ms. Habima pointed out that:

- in all societies of the world women are subject to discrimination of varying intensity according to the country and the political system;
- there is now a desire in all countries (at least in the form of declarations of intent we hasten to add) to end this discrimination by ensuring justice, peace and equality between their citizens, without regard to sex.

She reported that there has been some progress in woman's social position, but that numerous obstacles and pressures still exist to hold back the social integration of women into modern society.

It was on these stumbling-blocks and barriers, and possible solutions to them, that the Third Committee decided to concentrate. Making up the committee were

24 representatives from Western Europe,
3 from Africa
and 1 from Canada.

As we are now talking in terms of the situation internationally, it is of interest to note that the picture of women in modern day society as painted by our friend from Rwanda - and further embellished by the information provided by other African participants - does not appear so very different from the situation in Europe.

The problem of women being at a disadvantage in society appears therefore to be a universal one, though still assuming varying degrees in intensity and solutions being sought with varying success according to the individual country.

Naturally, any discussion of the development in woman's position must take into account the changes in the family itself, which in turn is subject to pressures and obstacles, and the members of the family: father, mother, children, and even the wider circle of relatives.

Still, we tried to concentrate our thoughts around "woman", and these in turn can be subdivided into two basic themes:

- the general direction of the changes in woman's position in society;
- the steps to be taken to improve woman's lot.

I The general direction of the development in woman's position

As at any international meeting, we found ourselves obliged to examine the semantic content and inherent philosophy of the terms we use.

The phrase "the emancipation of woman" we found unsatisfactory as it implies a certain position of inferiority and has pejorative overtones.

A preferable term would be "the blossoming out of woman", or, better still, "the development of woman" which leads to her blossoming out. And this with a freedom which still allows the restraints imposed by life in society to be observed.

Then however, it seemed to us that woman can only blossom out if men are involved in a similar process, for we do well to remember that we live in a society which from its beginnings has been bisexual.

We are not aiming to create a society which is "asexual" or "unsexual" but one in which the roles of men and women complement each other, which of course also means equal opportunity to develop and a rejection of any form of one subjugating the other.

II The steps to be taken to improve woman's position: some thoughts and proposals

These can be split into four main areas: education, mentality, legislation and politics, and human relations.

II/1 Changes in the educational fields

Occupational training for girls must be guaranteed. We see this as a keystone to the future development of woman's position in society. Girls and boys should be given identical education, which means that co-education is a must. This should open up more occupations to women.

But it is more in the families themselves that the education of young children must be given, without discrimination, and without children being placed in the straitjackets of the traditional male and female roles.

Parents must become alive to the importance of education and career training for girls. This should not be the sole responsibility of the educational institutions. Women need such education at various stages of their lives and it also gives them independence and freedom of choice.

II/2 Bending mentalities

Adults must accept that the image of the traditional roles of men and women is changing, and this also applies to those women who, whether they realise it or not, pass on down the generations discrimination between the sexes. They must also develop more confidence in their capabilities as people and at work.

The double parental role with regard to children must be seen for what it is really worth: the father as well as the mother should participate in caring for and educating their children, even when they are very young.

The changes in the hopes and wishes of the young must also be taken into account. The recent UNESCO conference showed what forms these are taking: girls now wish to be independent, to earn their living, to acquire a position which reflects them as people and not just as mothers. They also see the woman out at work - though without being blind to the various drawbacks - as enriching the heart of the family group and opening the family to the outside world.

11/3 Changing policy and legislation

A desirable development would be ambitious social and family policies which by means of monetary allowances, services and facilities, social and health protective measures, would relieve woman of the material and psychological restraints that impede her development and improvement in her social status. Numerous measures have been proposed but this is not the place to go into detail. However, it did not escape our attention that there would be a certain danger in wishing for various reasons, some of them praiseworthy, to give women a privileged status, particularly where working conditions are concerned.

It would be better if these were simply improved, not just for women but for men as well. In addition to the occupational training for girls mentioned above, the following developments would help women:

- greater employment opportunities;
- access to positions of responsibility;
- equal pay;
- representation in the administration of social bodies.

It should also be possible to amend the various statute-books and laws to abolish any discrimination against women.

However, some doubts were expressed on this point since in the main legislators are men, and the legal texts are in fact often very tortuous.

We must also mention the wish voiced by our African friends, that all women, in all countries, should have access to the means of birth control, (since having babies at very short intervals is often a severe handicap), and also to social services for looking after children.

11/4 Changing the forms of relationships and communication

The problems, and their roots, blocking the development of woman are part of a many-sided, complex system which is difficult to fully grasp.

Which are the best point to attack to change the system as a whole? One often has the feeling of being in a vicious circle.

A radical change in the methods of communication between men and women could be the best way of shaking the system to its foundations.

This we regard as the key, the absolute prerequisite for all other forms of change.

Men and women must find new forms of dialogue, of exchanging ideas and of sharing, which themselves will evolve with the passage of time. Women will not be able to be emancipated, to blossom out, if men do not travel the same road.

Without doubt women are currently passing through an important period in their history: they must find their new identity. And we must be well aware that our society is a male society, built mainly by men. There is

therefore a risk of woman's emancipation only being conceived of in terms of copying the male blueprint.

On this question of woman's new identity our discussions took a lively turn, various viewpoints being put forward but which in fact were complementary. The upshot was as follows:

Woman should have

- a) the right and the joy of having children and raising them, but also
- b) the right to develop her full potential in her occupational and social roles

Ms.Habimana proposes that we use all the means at our disposal to eradicate a situation in which women are forced to choose between the social role and that of mother. The role of being a father is already well integrated with other social roles; the same should be the case for mothers.

We have found, however, that all too often fathers have lost their "identity as father" a situation which is harmful to the children, himself and the mother.

This is why it is vital that new forms of communication be created between men and women to help them find the way together to new identities.

These new communication links must also be set up between parents and children, because hopes and ideas vary with each generation. This is not to say that all young people are progressive and all members of the older generation conservative, but the future can only be built on dialogue between generations.

But how are we to change the methods of communication between men and women, between parents and children, between the family and society? Genuine communication is the ability to reveal oneself in one's vulnerability and complexity, and ability to overcome one's doubts and fears.

We regard it as indispensable that preparation and training be given for this new communication, and the IUFO could play its part by undertaking research and developing the necessary educational and training programme. A start could be made by making a survey of the results of experiments in various countries.

Where is this training to be given? In the family associations, that goes without saying, but also on a wider scale, in the organisations that Mr Clements mentioned.

Summary

It has been proposed that the IUFO should act upon the ideas put forward during this conference.

At the reception in the Paris Civic Hall our president humorously summoned up the spirit of our old French revolutionary songs, and it is in this spirit that we voice our hopes that women and mothers be given equal representation in the IUFO itself and an equal share in responsibilities.

by

Rev. Leslie C. Clements

Office of Family Ministries
World Council of Churches

This fourth topic for consideration this morning presented me with great difficulties and I ask for your tolerance as I take the liberty of concentrating only on the major title. I have now been in bureaucratic Church structures in Geneva for eight years and have no present first-hand knowledge of either women's associations or family associations, and still less of public authorities, so it is really impossible for me to talk about the role of these in the promotion of the Family. However, coming from the heart of the ecumenical movement in Geneva, I do know something about the struggle involved in getting concerted action! I am aware of the difficulties springing from prejudice, from history, from vested interests, from fear of moving away from safe moorings, from ignorance and much else that hinders us from moving together in the interests of human welfare.

Let us therefore focus on the "Family and the Need for Concerted Action for its promotion", or to concerted action to help families realise as fully as possible their own potentialities for creative living in the culture to which they belong.

The family is a tough and resilient institution for sure. Like religion it has survived and still survives under all kinds of social, political and economic structures. In the beginning the family being a community of persons within a recognisable, rather tight little tribal or village community needed no other promotion or defense than what was there. The Maori people in my own country typified this. Their paha, or villages, were surrounded by strong pallisades and within those perimeters, families were cared for, children were loved, taught, corrected, nursed, and initiated into the mysteries of tribal religions, customs myths and legends. Something very similar was the typical situation in every culture - not excluding Europe where in the little walled medieval towns and cities - now crowded with tourists - the same kind of thing was repeated.

I need not recount to an audience like this how the walls came down. The secure structures, the support systems of that day disappeared. The history of this is known to most of us. What we are now dealing with is on the one hand family life - the style of which is changing rapidly for sure in most, if not all, cultures. The changes, confusions, problems appear to many to threaten values they think should and must be preserved if we are to move the human race up a rung or two of the ladder of progress. It is not only religious people who want to preserve certain values, but through anxious parents, or people concerned about preventing juvenile misbehaviour or crime, or teachers concerned about the family and education or health authorities concerned with venereal disease, or state authorities concerned with health and social welfare, or family planners concerned about population pressures, there comes a pretty universal cry for the restoration or preservation of certain family values. All that is over here, while over here we have a multiplicity of helping professions, associations, movements, running through from government ministries to the local barman or hairdresser who is often the most efficient marriage counselor in the district. It is not only

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the services to the family that are fragmented and often at odds with each other, but our theoretical interpretations of the family are also diverse. Philippe Garigue 1), back in 1964, drew out a whole collection of differing philosophical concepts concerning the family and scientific interpretations of the family. It is very much like the fable of the blind men walking around the elephant trying to describe it. Philippe Garigue pointed out first of all the difference between the family as an historical fact and the family as a natural fact. If the family is seen as a purely historical fact, one which may be not only modified, but even replaced at will be another institution, you have a very different approach than if you regard the family as a natural fact, universal by its very essence, and limited to the extent of change both in thought and in form. Philippe Garigue lined up on the side of the family as historical fact - such celebrated names as Rousseau, Marx and Russell, and on the other side those who believed in the family as a natural fact - Aristotel, Hegel and theologians of every belief. In the same lecture, Philippe also pointed out the difference between the anthropologist's view of the family as a basic social structure and the anthropological conclusion that the diversity and modes of family life are no more than variations on a single structural theme and the psychologists' view of the family as the cradle of personality, and the sociologist's view of the family as an organisation necessary to the progression of the individual from infant passivity to adult activity. I would also add that a theologian's view of the family might be quite different from any one of these. Before we start to talk about concerted action for the promotion of the family, therefore, we must, I think, do something about drawing together or interpreting the various views and philosophies concerning the family. Theology was once called the Queen of Sciences on the assumption that like an old fashioned monarch, it would claim allegiance from all the other sciences and draw them together under one head. The idea is probably anathema to us today, arrogantly presumptuous, but one could wish there was some way of seeing things whole!

Although historical-religious cultural conditioning will cause each one of us to have a different scale of importance and different reasons for assigning importance, there is probably a consensus among all people that the family is important - however the word "family" is interpreted - single parent families, intentional communities, husband breadwinner/woman breadwinner/both breadwinner - severely limited as to children from both parents being sterilised, through to the single child family to the large family. Our moralities, our stereotyped ideas, our ideologies will all determine where we place the family in terms of importance and will determine also how we answer the question, important for what? For example, in Eastern European countries there is a strong puritan approach to matters of family and sex, and one suspects that the family is seen very much as something made to serve the interest of a certain kind of state and society.

How do we begin to knit together all the elements, from a national level through to a local community, or up to an international level, so that there is really a global concerted effort to humanise the structures that profoundly affect the family, to provide a better

- 1) Report on Canadian Conference on the Family, 1964
Published by Vanier Institute, Ottawa

coordination of services, to meet real family needs, and to support men and women all over the world who are struggling for a satisfactory family life.

Let us begin at the beginning. If we want to bring about some concerted action for and on behalf of the family, if we want to enrich, enable, release the vast potential for good in the family, we must begin with men and women acting in concert. The modern women's liberation movements had to come - they were inevitable - the hour had struck. At their best, the women's liberation movements will call for a new and better and more truly valid equality of partnership between men and women. I cannot speak for the women's associations in this matter, but I strongly suspect that one of the unfinished tasks of the many vast women's organisations in the world is to turn their attention to the need to liberate men and move with men into a new order of society. It is just here that some of the truly exciting things are happening - ACME, CFM. There is a release of new life within these movements that in a sense is the beginning and end of the story. If couples were empowered to become partners in the deepest, richest sense of the term and in their new found security were able to turn their attention to social and political matters with a new found strength of purpose, then the world would begin to change.

The drawing together of family associations and of rationalising and coordinating services to the family calls for very careful consideration, lest we do more harm than good, but it is clear that much thinking is going on in this regard. As just one illustration of the sort of thing I think we are aiming for, I would bring to your attention the fact that this year there will be a European seminar on "Integration of Social Welfare and Health Personnel in the Delivery of Services: Implications for Training" 2). In the publicity sent out for this seminar, the scope and aims run thus:

"The aim of this seminar is to discuss the problems and opportunities of cooperation between social welfare and health personnel, both of whom render similar and related services to the same groups of people. Implications for training and curriculum development including the identification of a necessary common core of knowledge and skills, as well as implications for setting up new organisation of arrangement will be considered. The need for cooperation between social welfare and health personnel becomes more widely recognised as the sharp dividing line between health and social services becomes vaguer and more obscure. The factors that have lead to the growing awareness that new forms of cooperation are needed will be discussed at the seminar. Two main reasons for advocating better cooperation between social welfare and health personnel seemed to stand out:

1. The very progress of modern medicine and the improvement of social security schemes as well, have expanded the social definition of illness. As a consequence, health personnel are expected to provide solutions for a broader range of troubles than previously. This requires a multi-disciplinary approach or the inclusion of new knowledge into the training of health personnel.
2. More than ever attempts are being made to anticipate and ameliorate the social consequences of illness. From one point of view, illness can be seen as "social accident". It has consequences for family life, education of children etc. As a social accident, illness calls for intervention of the social security administration, or social services.

- 2) Seminar to be held in Austria, Nov. 17-21, 1975. Description offered by Division of Social Affairs, United Nations, Geneva

This points to the necessity of a certain amount of cooperation between social welfare personnel and health personnel. Then, the statement goes on to deal with difficulties involved in cooperation. Different attitudes, ideologies and work ethos make cooperation difficult. Sometimes health personnel restrict their attention to the physical aspect of illness to the exclusion of the social and psychological aspects. This affects both the professional attitude of members of the health personnel and their readiness to cooperate with social welfare personnel. The key persons are the doctors whose leadership is seldom challenged by other health personnel. Doctors training and professional ideology may not prepare them adequately to work in teams of social welfare personnel. As a consequence, many of them are still reluctant to do so. It must also be recognised that welfare personnel often have to work with health personnel, but also experience a number of practical difficulties in doing so. Although, perhaps less visible - administrators have an important, but hidden, function to perform as well."

That kind of attempt to get cooperation among professional people in the helping services will not be new to most of you. Certainly in my own experience I can recall attempts being made in New Zealand 20 - 25 years ago to get some order into the various helping services. I recall a case study that was made of one multi-problem family in which we discovered that no less than nine different social service agencies were involved. I remember the list very well - the husband was in prison and a prison chaplain was calling to see the man's wife and his family. A procurator officer was dealing with the eldest son, who had been before the court for some misdemeanor. Child welfare officers were dealing with the smaller members of the family, a school psychologist was involved, the local doctor and clergyman, a community social worker, a maternal and child welfare nurse, and the Salvation Army. One could take the work of any of the professions or social services to illustrate this kind of thing. For example, a great struggle is going on in the educational world at the moment regarding education in the family, questions are being raised concerning the goals of formal education, the goals of the family, the way in which these are often at variance with each other.

This kind of thing is clear, we should be trying to promote and encourage all kinds of coordination of effort and understanding of purpose. It might well be a useful task for groups associated with the IUFO to discover and research these areas where there is unproductive, sometimes destructive competition and goal discrepancies or harmful differences in method. E.G., a charitable service surviving from last century in the course of time, specialised almost wholly in the care of the aged. With all the best intentions in the world, and with the greatest kindness, the staff of this organisation was found to be acting quite contrary to the best interests of those it was seeking to serve.

There are any number of situations of great political and economic and even international sensitivity where governments make nonsense of their claims to believe in the family, and economic interests override elementary humanitarian ideals. For instance, the whole business of migratory labour in Europe alone - a subject appropriately taken up only recently by the IUFO and the ILO - is a major illustration of this.

The way in which governments still grope after a family policy is well known to the IUFO. Many of you will recall the excellent documentation that was done for us on this in Liege, Belgium by professor Dumon and Dr. Nesari-Slingerland (Family Policy, a selected and annotated bibliography (1948 - 72)).

But nowhere in the world to my knowledge (and I may be wrong) has any government yet committed itself to a real Family Policy. Family legislation of course - social policies and population policies to do with the family but no comprehensive all embracing consistent Family Policy as defined by numerous writers in the bibliography just quoted. The pressurising of governments to adopt real family policies might be one of the important unfinished tasks of the IUFO.

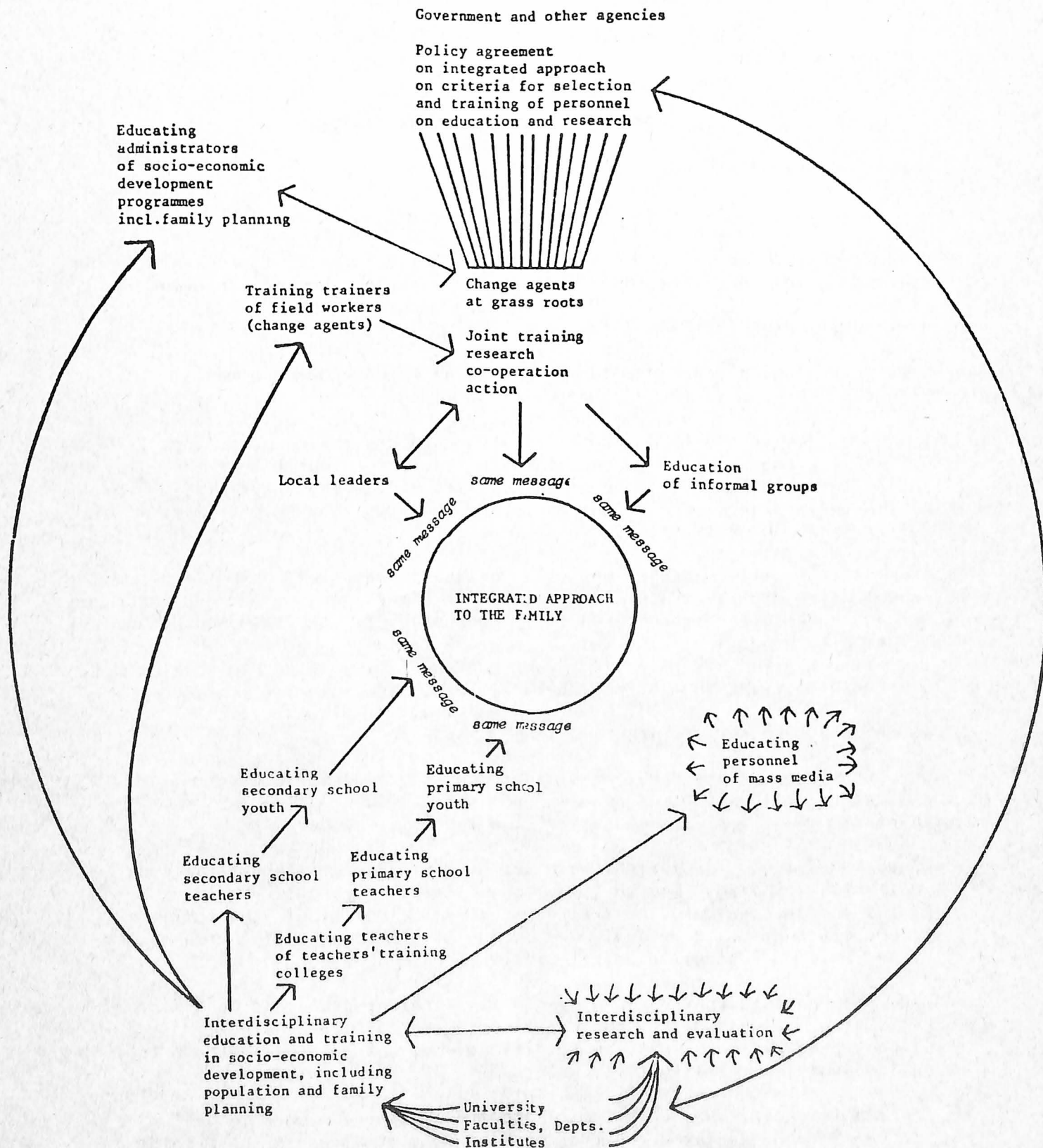
Let me summarise: I mentioned the need for care when we talk about "Concerted action for the promotion of the Family". We may well be too concerned about "unity for unity's sake" "The family" comes in an infinite variety of shapes and sizes and arrangements with a multiplicity of functions and needs. A friend of mine once said, "people in trouble need to have more than one door to knock on". Concerted action for the family cannot mean a single approach, or a monolithic organisation or agreement on every detail concerning the family.

What I think is needed is a kind of clearing of the air about objectives, methods, interpretations.

- a) Perhaps first of all what is needed is some kind of consensus, nationally if not internationally, about the importance of promoting family life. This, to be effective, must not be a casual nod to the family or the piecemeal introduction of odd bits of legislation about the family, much less speeches about the family. On that score it would seem we already have consensus. There is not a country in the world where a conference of the IUFO would not be opened by a highly placed government official prime minister or president who would with sob in voice go on record about the importance of the family! But actions belie the words.
- b) Secondly, perhaps we need some kind of universal acceptance of the importance of all styles of family life. A rejoicing in variety and surprise - not merely tolerance, but a recognition that family life is important no matter in what model it comes.
- c) We need some kind of universal agreement about the freedom of the family to be itself - a protection of privacy and a defense of the family against encroachment by the state or any other body, or its exploitation by commerce. This right of the family to be itself is probably implied in many a charter and proclamation, but again the reality is frequently very different.
- d) Differing from country to country there is a need, as I have said, to coordinate and rationalise services available to the family - from professional services of all kinds to associations of people at all levels.
- e) But the most important thing of all is that we must learn and must teach others to see things whole. Nowhere is this more important than when we deal with human relationships. We are all part of a whole - "no man is an island entire of himself." The inter-relatedness of the whole fabric of our human existence calls for concerted action. It seems to be that the needs of human beings in this last quarter of this momentous century, just cannot be adequately met by anything else.

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INTEGRATED APPROACH
IMPLEMENTATION MODEL



INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FAMILY ORGANISATIONS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Paris, August 22 - 23, 1975

CONCERTED ACTION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE FAMILY

(Report of the Fourth Committee, presented by Ms. de Bats-Denis)

Much discussion and debate within the committee was devoted to the objectives of concerted action for promotion of the family and the means of achieving it.

A - PROMOTION OF THE FAMILY

There was general agreement on two basic features of any policy aimed at promoting the family:

- 1) The objectives must be specific. They must meet the needs of the family group which are connected with the irreplaceable role the family plays for its members and with its own social functions;
- 2) The integrated nature of the steps and measures that help to meet family needs of all kinds.

Promotion of the family must be seen as a world-wide campaign, which respects the freedom of the family group. This freedom is the reason for introducing policies on economic development and social progress, it itself should not be a political plaything.

B - FAMILY ACTION AND CONCERTED EFFORT

a) Approach to the problem:

Our discussion revealed different approaches, according to country, on the idea of family action, depending upon which of the varied but complementary objectives was emphasised. Two facets stand out:

- 1) action towards furthering the material living conditions of families (family resources, housing, environment etc.)
- 2) action towards improving interpersonal relations within the family, encouraging the individual development of all members of the family, and raising the quality of family life.

It has been emphasised that any improvement in interpersonal relations within the family group is undoubtedly dependent upon material living conditions, but that any progress made in these conditions does not necessarily help to improve the quality of family life.

The committee arrived at the conclusion that a large programme of research should be undertaken and that much thought be given to the problem with the aim of analysing in depth the full range of the family's needs and finding the right answers. This then will enable the members of the family

to fulfil their roles and functions in societies that are characterised by rapid change in both the highly industrialised countries and those still developing. The accent was put on the need to give families better preparation to adapt to these changes and to take into account not only those families already existing but also those yet to be formed in the future.

b) Conditions of action:

The Committee drew up a list of conditions it regards as essential for family action. The form this action will take, and the means of achieving it as mentioned above, will differ according to the type of need, the social structures and the politics obtaining in each part of the world and in each country.

The conditions were defined as follows:

- a) The action must be free. The family sector must be autonomous with regard to the public authorities and distinct from other representative groups and champions of communal, social or political interests which do not include family interests in their sphere of operations.
- b) This action must be based upon social forces and be put into practice by organised family groups.
- c) These organised families must themselves be engaged in carrying out this work and in managing the services that are likely to meet their needs.

These essential criteria should enable family action to be the driving force behind the promotion of family interests and the authorised spokesman of family groups in a world-wide effort which is to be undertaken at local, regional, national and international levels, whether this be in conjunction with other organised social groups or with all ranks of public authorities.

c) Forms the action should take

The committee then examined the question of the means to be employed to perform the family action outlined above. Certain facts came to the fore, in particular:

- The weakness of the family movement in some countries in comparison with other social groups, such as trade unions, employers' associations etc.
- The difficulty in making families aware of the need to voice their needs and hopes, whatever they may be, and in getting them to participate in the activities that concern them.

The committee was aware that no set model existed for family action and that this must develop and assume its shape in accordance with the social situation and the political set-up in each country.

It has since formulated a number of suggestions which, whilst not being restrictive, constitute the minimum requirements to ensure success. These are as follows:

- 1) It is vital that the family movements have an educational influence, not just as regards the preparation of the individual for family life, but also with a view to making families aware of the necessity of expressing their needs, to make them conscious of the active role they must play in their own promotion, and of the importance of joint action with others.
- 2) Women's, parents' and consumer associations, and youth movements and associations must be involved in the family action and the joint approaches. The objectives of these bodies form an integral part of a world-wide policy on family action.
- 3) Better communication channels must be established between on the one hand the administrators and the specialised staff (doctors, psychologists, social workers) who work together in their respective areas of social and health activities, and on the other the spokesmen for the groups promoting family interests. This improved dialogue would make it easier to identify and proclaim the real needs of the family group, in all spheres.
- 4) Social research should be stepped up so as to make it easier to explain to the social groups and public administrators the needs of the family in modern-day societies.

To conclude, the committee underlined the essential and permanent role that families must themselves play in looking after and promoting their own interests.

It regretted that due to lack of time it was not able to examine in greater depth the roles and responsibilities of the public authorities in the matter, and therefore would like this to be studied further by the IUFO.

The committee invites the IUFO to work out the best means of disseminating the ideas that have been arrived at and to play an active role in carrying out the measures regarded as desirable in the field of family action and joint efforts. In addition, to make suggestions to the UN, and all its specialized institutions, on ways of achieving a better coordination of their activities in the family policy sector.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FAMILY

Paris, August 22-23, 1975

Summing-up by Mr. Bernhard Lory,
General Secretary of the IUFO

This report replaces the talk that was to have been given by Madame Touré who was unable to attend. Her absence is cause for both pleasure and sorrow. Pleasure at the fact that Madame Touré is not with us today because she has been promoted to the office of Ministre de la Protection de la Famille et des Affaires Sociales in Mauritania, but sadness that this promotion deprives us her presence and her thoughts and ideas.

You have spent the last two days analysing the problems of woman's situation, working from the basis of the introductory reports on the four topics decided upon in advance by the preparatory working party.

Madame Stommel dealt with the problem of woman within the family, which led her to cover the whole range of problems concerning the promotion of women.

Madame Habimana discussed the topic of woman and society, whilst Mlle. Pitrou introduced us to the problem of the working woman.

Reverend Clements took for his subject the ways in which women and family and women's associations can participate in social life.

These four themes were chosen not just for their importance but also for the fact that they are closely linked. The division may appear illogical but it does offer the great advantage of enabling each of the rapporteurs and each of the working parties to tackle problems which are difficult to split into too rigid a system of categories.

The quality of the introductory reports and the serious approach and depth of thought evident in your discussions have brought home to all present the many aspects of the problem of woman's situation and enabled them to see the position of the IUFO with respect to the activities of the United Nations and the choice of subject for 1975.

An analysis of these four reports, which retrace the findings of your studies and which were presented by Madame Rau, Mlle, Ancelin, Mr. Tyndall and Mme. de Bats-Denis, shows that the problem was approached from two complementary aspects.

In the course of your work you were led to ask some fundamental, indeed philosophical questions, and at the same time to come up with concrete proposals for change in woman's situation within society.

The report presented by Madame Habimana invited you to ask some basic questions on what are the distinguishing features of the feminine personality and the roles required of women in society.

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As regards the first point, you analysed the causes of the forms of discrimination proven to exist. Are the facets that make up the essential female personality the results of natural or cultural factors?

All through your discussions one of the questions before you, whether implicitly or explicitly, was the reason for the differences in the positions of men and women. Some of you thought that biological and physical differences went some way towards providing an explanation, but that historical and sociological factors were the main reasons. Analyses of this point are found in the introductory report from Mme. Habimana and in Mlle's Ancelin's final report.

It is clear that to a large extent woman is a product of male domination. As Simone de Beauvoir wrote: one is not born a woman, one becomes one", and as Madame Francoise Giroud, the French Secretary of State for the Status of Women, recently reminded us: "Women's problems are above all men's problems".

There is no fundamental difference in the natures, attitudes, abilities, talents or characters of men and women.

Consequently, there is no predestination either as regards vocation or ambition. Given this fact, the aura of mystery which some people try to attach to women and feminine nature appears largely as a male invention. In writing that man is easy to know and that woman does not betray her secrets, Kant manifests above all else a lack of curiosity which allows him to avoid the real questions without finding any real answers.

Certainly, the physiological differences reveal themselves as purely physical differences of strength and endurance which one can discuss endlessly, but they cannot form the basis of a system which confines man to an active, animal attitude and woman to a more passive and figurative role.

Under these conditions, sociological and political factors appear to be the ones that determine woman's situation and the role that woman is required to play in social life, more particularly within the home and in economic life.

The family is a social unit whose structure varies greatly with time and geography, but alongside this diversity of structure we must underline the permanence of the family's function in the economic, demographic and educational fields.

Woman's place in the family will depend on both the structure of the family and the roles she is required to play in it.

Some sociologists such as Andrée Michel distinguish between types of family according to the roles that the man and woman are required to play within the family. In the Mediterranean countries the woman's role is essentially a domestic one while the man is more involved in economic and social life. In contrast to that, in the Scandinavian countries there exists a family set-up with less sharply defined roles. Here men and women fulfil alternately or simultaneously the domestic, economic, political and social functions. In between these two types of country we can observe family structures in a process of change, with the borders marking off the roles of each member of the family becoming less distinct.

This point led to the question of which was the best attitude to adopt towards this change. For some of you the best course will be to take all possible steps to introduce social allowances and social services to give women a free choice between remaining at home, going out to work or combining the two. For others, freedom of choice will not be sufficient and for a real change to be effected in the position of women, a sharing of roles between men and women must be introduced. This is the way to true equality in exercising responsibilities.

Forging links of affection is not a female prerogative and the capacity for political or economic action is not the sole right of men. In addition to these general observations on the changes in woman's place in the family, you studied the variety of family structures, not, this time, on a country by country basis but according to social class and environment.

During your discussion several of you pointed out that there exist alongside the traditional type of family some special forms which are determined more by economic factors. There are differences in structure and in the type of relationships between the members of the family according to whether we are looking at working class, middle class or rural families. It is even justified to ask whether a given concept of the family that reflects a conservative political ideology is not by nature harmful to a policy of social family policy and its execution.

Certain social groups and some states have stated such claims on the family image that family policy runs the risk of appearing as a fight about ideology.

Hence it is that despite its good intentions and the existence of real social needs which it aims to take into account and meet, actually putting family policy into practice appears to be no easy matter. Too often the family is seen as a conservative unit summoned to defend and pass on social values specific to a social category, and consequently it is open to dispute.

A set image of the family and a set concept of the woman's place in the family leads to an unnecessary clash with the promotion of the family and of women. Too often the defenders of the family are loathe to see any change in woman's position which aims to end her alienation. The other side of the coin is that women's movements all too often reject any idea of a family policy and resolutely refuse to admit that woman's situation can only really be altered by changes in the family structures. But these are strongly influenced by socio-economic factors.

This led on to a discussion of the problem of social inequality and more particularly that of poverty. It is a paradox of the modern world that contains side by side an extraordinary increase in material wealth and the persistence, indeed the widening of economic disparities. In addition to those of the Third World countries, we have the disparities in the industrialised countries in the form of the widening gaps between certain sectors of the population.

It was pointed out that woman's condition is obviously much influenced by these conditions of social inequality, and that women in the most disadvantaged social categories have a special role to play, representing a mainstay of permanence and confidence for the children. All too often one finds that the woman is the main victim of these conditions but at the same time they help her to prove her worth in comparison with the man who proves incapable of providing the family with its needs.

The problems encountered by the working woman were touched upon, and in this your job was made easier by the preparatory work, the thoughts put forward by Mlle. Pitrou and the information presented by various countries.

It was established that there has been an increase in the number of women holding down a job, a trend which led to a number of questions being asked, though perhaps you were not always able to come up with an answer. The first concerns the liberating aspect of work. It is a paradox that work, often seen as a form of alienation or punishment, can also be regarded as an instrument of liberation.

Woman's position must indeed must be both sad and tragic for work to be seen as a form of release, although one must of course distinguish between the forms of the work and the nature of it. It does perhaps have a liberating effect to hold a high political office, to be in an administrative post with authority or to be involved in managing some important company.

It is difficult to admit, on the other hand, that there is any real satisfaction to be gained from being paid to work at a conveyor belt or with fixed working hours, making any private or family life possible. The truth of the matter is that work can be both, either a form of release or source of oppression.

When the former is the case, work turns into a victory for women. In the latter, as Mr. Clements commented, it is the result of the domination of an economic situation. Consequently, any thoughts on woman's situation must not misread or neglect the problem of working conditions. For the rest, the present economic crisis which is not just a monetary or purely economic one, must lead to changes in the working day and a redistribution of the potential of the workforce.

It seems to me that a very careful watch should be kept while these changes are carried out to ensure that woman is not again robbed of the benefits of the measures introduced. We should make particularly sure that in the, moreover vain, attempt to reduce unemployment, the more vulnerable categories are not attacked i.e. foreigners, women, the young and the old.

In reality, the present conditions of production in the capitalist countries do not offer much hope of our achieving the increase in growth rate needed to ensure full employment. Only far-reaching changes in economic and social life, a reorientation of production, social needs being met the development of communal services and new ways of arranging people's time will produce better employment and better use of manpower. We must therefore ensure that the changes in woman's position are achieved in close harmony with social changes.

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On the basis of these general considerations and the analysis of social structures, a series of concrete proposals was put forward concerning changes in the legal status of women, remoulding mentalities, actual measures to be adopted and the ways towards giving women real participation in social life. The conclusions you reached were fully brought out in the four reports covering the four themes of this conference. There is therefore little point, and it could even be dangerous, to reiterate all the points here. I will therefore restrict myself to giving a broad outline.

First, the changes in the legal status of women. The recent amendments to the law in several countries are playing an important part in the emancipation of women. The same applies to the measures concerning the exertion of parental authority, inheritances, sexual life and employment. All these provisions are aimed at reducing or even abolishing the privileges enjoyed by men up to now.

These changes are aiming to have effect in African countries as well as in Europe and the American continent.

All the measures are leading to greater equality between men and women.

However, this equality before the law does not and will not have any effect unless accompanied by a real change in mentalities. Such change, and this is my second point, is a slow process: customs, traditions and habits determine behaviour patterns in which everyone appears to have been strongly conditioned.

This is the problem which faces all change and all revolutions. The role of the educational institutions, the family and the state received strong emphasis during your discussion but it must be recognised that efforts to change mentalities run up against considerable difficulties. Both school and family are agents of social reproduction. Both pass on values which are strongly influenced by the economic system. Some people, no doubt, will go so far as to say that the school, family and state are sub-systems in the service of a greater whole. The resistance to change will therefore be considerable, all the more so if the change in woman's position is likely to induce change in the economic system. Care must also be taken to ensure that we not enticed, under the veil of praiseworthy intentions aimed at changing mentalities and freeing minds, into substituting other systems of information or education which do not achieve anything except to replace one system of ideological alienation by another.

To avoid this not inconsiderable danger and to preserve the independence and freedom of the individual, the only tenable approach seems to be to step up the dissemination of information, to give an education which actively encourages people to accept responsibilities and which does not lay down pre-cast roles.

"Cretinisation" must be banished from this field and be replaced not by another form but by encouragement of a capacity for thought and for taking decisions and action.

In fighting for their own emancipation, women can do much to effect extensive changes in social relationships by disseminating educational values which in turn become new agents of liberation.

Thirdly, it was pointed out that measures to promote women can only achieve their goal if integrated into a more world-wide framework of social and family policy. The dangers were stressed of according a privileged status which would act as a catalyst for widening the gaps between men and women. Similarly, the provisions aimed at the emancipation of women can only hit their target if part of a block of social measures aimed at breaking the autonomy of bodies of individuals and social groups, whether they be handicapped, the elderly, women, young people, foreigners or any other category of the population.

A specialised campaign always runs counter to a campaign for liberation. As one very great handicapped person once said at an IUOF meeting; he feels handicapped when amongst other handicapped people, but this feeling disappears when he is in a non-specialised social group. A difference is reinforced or even brought into being when a specific social policy is based upon it. This is true of social allowances in cash, the development of communal services or carrying out an employment policy.

Woman's condition will, therefore, not be improved by the passing of measures especially for women, but rather by more general ones which encourage her development.

Any social policy with this in mind must therefore rest on achieving real participation in all forms of social life. Social policy aimed at removing the dominance of the individual must be defined, decided upon and enacted by all individuals together. Too often the division of roles between men and women prevents women from making their contribution to social and political life.

The public authorities must take care that any policy of promoting women does not assume the garb of a policy of assistance which would mean yet greater dependence. On this score families have an essential role to play, being responsible for themselves and their members. They must themselves develop genuine participation within their own ranks if they wish to participate in the life of other social institutions.

Attention was drawn to the fact that women are underrepresented in family organisation. The IUOF is not exempt from this criticism, despite the recent changes in which a number of women were admitted to its governing bodies. It should go further and encourage the development of women's participation at all levels of social life. To ease the way for this we would like to see a special effort made in the fields of social research, information and education.

More specifically, there should be in all countries a permanent education programme which is not just slanted towards the needs of the economic situation but which disseminates knowledge and a philosophy which allows women to play their full part as citizens.

In conclusion we can deduce that any policy on the promotion of women presupposes action originating from women themselves, enabling them to exercise their responsibilities at all levels of decision-making. This is one of the difficulties of any social policy. Whilst being done with the best of

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intentions, there is a danger of woman being considered the target of the policy when she is in fact the mainspring behind it. In this field, as in others, any social action cannot be one-way traffic, and if in order to encourage some activity it appears necessary to develop a service, it must never be forgotten that the function of a service is to disappear from view and to let the people responsible for their own situation take over.

One may say of social action and more particularly of policy for the promotion of women the words used in a critical spirit by Mr. Bergeret: we have to have them. This criticism however, should not be turned outwards, it should be applied to the policy itself.

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FOREWORD

The ambitiousness of the title and subject-matter of this booklet is such that we must remind the reader of the limits of this simple work.

Its aims were laid down by the I.U.F.O. and were, on the one hand, to make the best possible use for its members of the documentation that flooded the General Secretariat during International Women's Year and, on the other, to provide further background to the matters debated during the August 1975 International Congress at Paris on "The Condition of Woman".

These terms of reference indicate quite clearly what limitations will be encountered in the treatment of the four main themes. Firstly, the literature received by the I.U.F.O. was not the result of a methodical and systematic selection from amongst the mass of publications in Women's Year. In form, they cover a wide spectrum, ranging from the popular magazine or ladies journal to the statistical study or learned paper prepared by specialists. The light that they shed on whole geographical areas is therefore scant, at least on certain subjects, and the information they provide varies greatly in quality.

The imbalance and the gaps that will be noticed in the description of local situations and in the arguments put forward are therefore inherent in the source material itself.

Secondly, the actual kind of analysis adopted predominantly required the marshalling of the thinking of a conference, by contrasting each theme against fact, opinion and achievement. It was not a matter of redoing or continuing work on which specialists had spent long years of effort. The light cast by relating particular situations may highlight points both of convergence and divergence in the evolution of the status of women throughout the world, and consequently offer those whose work lies within the family sector an opportunity for reflection and a better appreciation of specific goals.

Only within this narrow framework is this study likely usefully to extend the great outflow of ideas that was a feature of International Women's Year.

I. WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

INTRODUCTION

In those civilisations where the structure of the family was more or less uniform with social and economic structures, the position of the individual was strictly determined by the criteria of sex and age which allotted them such and such a place within the community. The position in complex, developed societies is certainly different, the multiplicity of social roles that could be assumed at various times by one and the same person endowing him with functions and situating him in relationships that vary according to the role concerned.

However, the opportunity for this seems to be greater for men than for women in many societies, even industrialised ones. In fact, it seems that the family role is sometimes still strong enough for some to define the position of woman in social life as that of wife and mother. Further, while being thus reduced to one main task, from many points of view this unique mission is discharged under conditions of marked inequality, occasionally under the aegis of appropriate legislation. Considered as inferior to her husband within the sphere of family life, the woman must, however, effectively take up the chief part of the work and responsibilities inherent in daily life and in the events occurring within the family nucleus.

The general development of conditions of communal living and in economic and social goals has made women of all countries, and certain persons in authority, increasingly aware - with great variation in time according to country - that there was a glaring contradiction between the rights and the duties acquired by women in this way, and further, that the restriction of her horizons through the four walls of the home were becoming the more anachronistic, the more that a large part of the functions formally assumed within the domestic framework became the province of other organisations within the social structure.

This trend in questioning on the place of woman in the family and outside it quite clearly shows through the various attitudes adopted in various countries during International Women's Year.

Whether we are concerned with the legislative framework laying down laws and responsibilities in the family and the various kinds of protection granted to the family and to the mother, or with concepts relating to the role of the mother and the way that the family lives, or with the frequently novel problems arising from the growing participation of women in professional life, the excitement that attended any questioning or affirmation of the pre-eminence of the woman's role as educator and mother showed through the whole spectrum of the articles that we analysed. We shall try to summarise the characteristic features of these.

1. The position at law of woman within the family

If woman's position within the family is to be understood, we must first examine her legal rights within the dual relationship as regards the property jointly owned within the marriage and as regards the children's education. There is, in fact, no doubt that the de facto position of woman within the

family as regards her husband, the domestic tasks and the children's education are dependent on the rights granted her or withheld from her by law; it is also a fact that the law is a reflection of the attitudes of society at a given point in time. Any change in the legal framework both consolidates and checks the trend.

However, we shall see that, in many countries, the general trend of custom and habit proceeds at a far slower pace than changes in the law.

Existing legislation is extremely diverse and we could not hope to provide an exhaustive insight into it. While we have used examples to illustrate this paper, this does not mean that only the countries named are involved but merely that the literature that we consulted does not permit us to generalise.

1.1. Marriage

In more and more countries, marriages cannot be contracted without the mutual consent of man and woman. However, in certain countries, the consent of the father of the bride may be required for the marriage to take place. Payment of a dowry to the wife's family continues to be a custom still observed in certain areas; however, on occasion, a maximum sum may have been fixed by law, as is the case in Mali and Senegal, for example (132).

Similarly, although the dowry still applies in Togo, where it is considered as one of the values of African society, there is a ceiling to the amount and it tends rather to represent a symbolic survival (108). In other countries, such as the Gaboon, this practice has been prohibited (132).

As regards the age at which marriage is legally possible, there are few countries where the age is identical for both sexes, though this is the case in Sweden, East Germany (79) and Czechoslovakia (56), where the legal marriageable age is 18 for both sexes. Conversely, in most countries, the woman is entitled to marry at a younger age than the man, difference varying between 2 and 4 years. At the present time, a minimum legal marriageable age, for the girl in particular, is applicable in virtually all countries.

1.2. Monogamy and polygamy

Legal provisions relating to polygamy differ. It may be prohibited where once it was permitted, as is the case, for example, in India, Israel, Tunisia, Turkey, (132) Ruanda and Zaire (108). In other countries, it is prohibited if the marriage is contracted under civil law and not under religious or customary law (Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Sierra Leone) (132). In yet other countries, such as Cameroon and the Gaboon (108), the opportunity is offered at the time of marriage to opt between polygamy and monogamy. It may, however, be wondered what effective influence the woman has on a decision that is of prime concern to herself. If a commitment to monogamy has been undertaken, failure to observe this during the marriage attracts the sanction of divorce. In Mali the initial option for monogamy or polygamy may be reviewed by common consent (108). In Iraq and Syria, polygamy is prohibited if it bears unfairly on the wife (132). In the Gaboon, polygamy is upheld since it is considered to be a disease difficult to cure in the present state of society; however, monogamy is the system recognised by ordinary law (108).

In Dahomey, four marriages may still be contracted with full retention of civil rights, but the trend is increasingly towards abolition of polygamy (108). On the subject of the struggle against polygamy, it is well to remember the observation by Johan-Maria Pauwels (108) - colonial law-makers blinded by a real obsession with polygamy, have concentrated their efforts on introducing monogamous marriage and have thereby neglected other aspects of the status of woman.

Besides, the main aim was to impose a model of family life generally considered as the ideal in the West rather than emancipation of the woman. "Emancipation in the strict sense of the word (equality of man and woman) was in no way contemplated".

1.3. Rights and duties during marriage

The laws enacted in certain countries during the past 20 years have provided for equality of the partners and joint responsibilities during marriage. Legislation of this kind generally covers mutual aid and loyalty, life together in marriage, the contribution of the spouses to the needs of the family each according to their ability, and mutual responsibility for decisions concerning the family. This equality of rights and responsibilities between the man and the woman within the marriage bond is guaranteed by law in the Scandinavian countries, in the U.S.S.R., in many countries of Eastern Europe, in certain countries of Western Europe and in certain African countries. It must, however, be noted that despite developments in the law, habit and custom progress far less rapidly, as Telma Awori has observed - "the women of Africa are in advance of European women at legal level. They have obtained equality of rights at all levels but, in actual fact, there has been little change in outlook" (48). Although this gap between law and custom is accentuated in the African nations, this does not apply to them exclusively. In fact, in Denmark, as in many other industrialised countries where, on the whole, no distinction is made between the sexes under civil law, equality has not in actual fact been achieved (31), and major decisions continue to be taken chiefly by the man. For many reasons that still affect outlook, women persist in a submissive or self-effacing role.

1.4. The surname

Significant developments have taken place in many countries on the question of handing down the family name, which while apparently a minor matter, is in fact of major symbolic importance in view of the part played by the name in defining the individual or his line of descent.

When the name taken by the wife after marriage is considered, it will be noted that, while in certain countries the wife and the children must legally bear the same names as the husband, in other countries, such as France (69) and Canada (Quebec) (17), for example, there has never been any legal requirement obliging the wife to take her husband's name, but custom has the force of law. In Belgium, the wife keeps her name, but the children bear the name of their father and cannot take that of their mother (29).

In several countries, the woman keeps her name and the children's name is in no way connected with that of their parents. This happens in Burma, for example (48). In China, the woman is entitled to keep her maiden name and the

children may choose between the name of their father and that of their mother (67). In East Germany, the spouses both take the same surname, this being either that of the husband or that of the wife, and the children take the same surname (79). In the U.S.S.R. the spouses either choose one of the two surnames to serve as the common surname, or they each keep their own (106).

It is therefore clear that the position differs in each case. Nevertheless, in the majority of countries, whether what applies is a statutory obligation, as in Austria (28), or a custom, the married woman takes the husband's name, this becoming the name of all members of the family.

1.5. The concept of paterfamilias

In many countries, the husband is still recognised by law as the "paterfamilias" and takes the chief part in the life of the household. A woman has no or little legal right to intervene in decisions that are binding both on her and on other members of the family. The wife's position therefore varies according to country, from subordination to consultation or participation. In Switzerland (40, 108), Austria (28), Greece (35), and Italy, the wife is legally subject to the husband's authority. The husband chooses the place of connubial residence and decides on all matters concerning them jointly. However, in Austria, Switzerland and Italy, bills have been introduced to redress this situation. In Ethiopia, Jordan, Mali, Tunisia, and Mauritania, civil law lays down that the wife owes obedience to her husband (48). There are also cases where the wife requires the husband's implicit or explicit authority to work (Switzerland, Greece), but, generally speaking, when disputes are taken to law, the courts appear tolerant; in Tunisia a married woman may now freely choose an occupation and the husband may object only on serious grounds that jeopardise the continuation of conjugal life (118).

In certain countries where the concept of "paterfamilias" is no longer enshrined in civil law, certain inequalities may still be found. For example, as regards the choice of the matrimonial home, if the two spouses disagree, the husband's decision is final in Belgium (29), France (33), and the Netherlands (39).

1.6. Property

Very frequently, the husband is again given a privileged position of this kind with regard to ownership of family property. In those countries where the concept of "paterfamilias" exists, it is generally the husband who administers the jointly owned property, with which he may do as he sees fit. It is also common for the husband to administer the wife's own property and for him to be entitled to deal with it as he wishes. Cases even occur where the wife must obtain the husband's consent in order to dispose of her own goods that are her exclusive property. Under such kinds of inegalitarian legislation, the wife does not have the benefit of equitable distribution if the marriage contract is dissolved. This is the case in Switzerland (108), where the wife is entitled only to one third of the assets of the matrimonial union whatever the extent to which she participated in creating the assets. In Burundi (108), the wife's property acquired before marriage remain in her ownership but those acquired during the marriage belong to her husband.

Where the concept of "paterfamilias" has been abandoned by the civil law, inequality may still exist between husband and wife with regard to accrued property. For example, in Belgium (29), the wife's own goods are administered by the husband and she needs his permission if she is to deal with them herself in full ownership. Also in that country, and in France (33), the husband alone administers the jointly owned property and may dispose of it. In Japan (55), in the event of divorce, the wife cannot depend on equitable distribution of accrued property. However, certain legislative systems that have eliminated this concept of "paterfamilias" also provide for joint ownership of accruals during the marriage and equal distribution if it is dissolved; this is the case, for example, in Bulgaria (4), Czechoslovakia (56), the U.S.S.R. (57), East Germany (79) and Sweden (1).

1.7. Transfer of nationality

If we now turn our attention to the position of the husband and wife with regard to the acquisition and transfer of nationality, we will see that here, too, there are significant inequalities. For example, it does not appear that a man who marries a foreigner is likely to lose his nationality to acquire that of his wife. (Conversely, the contrary exists. In Belgium, for example, the wife acquires the husband's nationality by marriage (29). In Czechoslovakia (56) and East Germany (79), it has been stated that marriage to a foreigner need not necessarily affect the woman's nationality. As far as the children are concerned, it seems that the position most commonly met is that of nationality being passed on by the man to their legitimate offspring, as in the Netherlands (39), the United Kingdom (41) and Switzerland (40).

1.8. Rights and duties with regard to children

An overall trend is noticeable towards parental authority being shared between the two spouses, a concept superseding that of authority of the father. Equality of rights and duties with regard to children is found in many different kinds of countries, e.g. in Senegal (108), the Gaboon (108), Bulgaria (4), Belgium (29), France (33), The Netherlands (39), Switzerland (40), Czechoslovakia (56), the U.S.S.R. (57), and East Germany (79). Nonetheless, in some of these countries the father's intention prevails if there is disagreement between the parents. This is the case in the Netherlands where, in spite of this, the mother may have recourse to the courts if the father's intention conflicts with the well being of the children (39); in Switzerland, there is a bill for amending legislation to abolish this provision (40). In other countries, the father alone can legally administer children's property, despite the existence of a concept of parental authority. This is the case in the Gaboon (108) and in France (33), amongst the countries quoted above.

Elsewhere, the "father's authority" continues to apply. Here, parental authority over minor children is exercised by the father, who essentially has the power to decide as to the education of the children and the administration of their property. Provisions of this kind may be found in the civil law of Greece (35), Luxembourg (38), Austria (28), Togo (108) and Canada (Quebec) (18). In several of these countries, however, amending legislation has been drafted substituting the concept of parental authority for that of father's authority - Austria (28) and Canada (Quebec) (8).

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Leaving aside the authority exercised by parents with regard to the children, as far as the decision whether or not to have children is concerned, the position, of course, is extremely diverse and the examples amongst the literature we hold are few. In China, where abortion is freely available without charge and is offered simply at the woman's request, if the husband and wife cannot agree whether a child should be born, the woman's decision prevails (67). In East Germany, the woman is entirely at liberty to decide whether her pregnancy should be terminated (79) and in Czechoslovakia, termination of pregnancy may only be undertaken with the woman's consent (56). It is quite clear that these problems of contraception and abortion also call into question a woman's rights, whether recognised or not, concerning the exercise of her own sexuality. In many countries, sexual relations outside marriage are still considered as criminal and are punished severely in the case of women. However, Brigitta Linner (83a) mentions that, at the present time, recourse to the pill is leading to a reversal in relationships between men and women within their sex life. This is what she writes, "in the past, the man said to the woman 'you can trust me, do not be afraid, you will not become pregnant'. Now, the man asks the woman 'do you take the pill?' and the woman replies, 'yes, you can trust me'". The author can see no true equality existing among men and women unless there is equality in the exercise of their own sexual natures. In this field, however, even more than in other aspects of family life, the evolution of effective, practical attitudes, i.e. of freedom that the woman can really appreciate and exercise, is unlikely to be achieved simply by a change in the law. Be that as it may, legal recognition is fast being given to the fact that women should have control of their own fertility; there are those who would like the man to have a yet greater share in this responsibility. With regard to adultery, it should be mentioned that this is still considered a crime in many countries and that it is punished more severely in the case of women than in the case of men.

1.9. Divorce

Here, too, we note a trend to more equality amongst the spouses in the case of divorce.

Where divorce was once prohibited in certain countries, it is now authorised (Italy, Monaco) (48). Where it was permitted only in the case of the husband, it is now sometimes allowed for the woman in certain circumstances (Afghanistan and Singapore, for example) (132). In other countries, divorce has been made easier for both partners (Sweden, U.S.A. (State of New York)) (48). In Sweden, for example, there is no longer any need for grounds. It is sufficient for one of the spouses to want a divorce. A six-month waiting period is imposed if one of the spouses refuses the divorce or if one of them has children aged less than sixteen. There is no longer any requirement of the spouses to live separately during this waiting period and the concept of responsibility for breaking the marriage tie is now entirely eliminated from the law. In Japan (54) divorce is a very simple matter, mutual consent sufficing, but it is held to reflect seriously on the woman's honour.

The grounds on which divorce is granted do not always apply equally to husband and wife. For example, for the husband's adultery to constitute grounds for divorce, it must have been committed in the matrimonial home, while in the

case of the woman, adultery away from her home is sufficient (Belgium, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Luxembourg, Uruguay and Venezuela) (132).

Provisions to lessen the financial effects of divorce for women have been introduced in certain countries. A "guilty" husband must pay alimony to his wife in Bolivia, Costa Rica and Mexico (132). In Togo, if the husband is held to be entirely to blame in a divorce settlement, he must pay alimony to the wife but if the woman is held to be entirely to blame for the divorce, she is not required to pay alimony to her husband (108). Similarly, in Ireland, if the husband abandons his family, he may be required by the courts to pay alimony, but this does not apply to the woman (36). In Mali, a wife may claim alimony if she is in need and if the husband is held to blame for the divorce (108). Legal systems where the wife as well as the husband is obliged to pay alimony in certain circumstances are apparently few. This proved to be the case in the U.S.S.R. (106) and the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen (55), where, if divorce is granted against the husband, the latter must pay alimony to his wife if she encounters hardship and must continue to do so for a maximum period of one year; if the wife is in the wrong, she must pay alimony to her husband, though the amount of this cannot exceed that of her dowry.

As regards custody of children, in certain countries this is given to the spouse held to be innocent, even if this is incompatible with the well being of the children (Belgium, Costa Rica, Greece and Peru) (132). Sometimes, the general rule is to grant custody of the children to the spouse who brought the suit for divorce; however, if it is in the children's interest, they may be entrusted to the other parent, as is the case in Mali (108). It seems that in the majority of cases, custody of the children is given to the mother, at least while they are small. Consequently, in Czechoslovakia, children have been entrusted to the mother in ninety percent of all cases (56). In the Gaboon, the mother, even if she is the guilty party, has custody of the child until it reaches the age of five, after which it returns to the father's home (108). The countries where children are entrusted de jure to the father seem to be relatively few, though this happens in Burundi where, moreover, the father quite often obstructs the mother's visiting rights. In Burundi, a divorced wife returns to her family and again falls under her father's authority, and she cannot re-marry without the consent of the paterfamilias.

This brief appreciation of the woman's position within the family from the legal point of view has enabled us to observe the continued existence of certain inequalities in many countries. There is no denying, on the other hand, that the trend towards much greater legal equality between men and women is either already, quite clearly, an established fact or is in the course of becoming established in many nations. Nonetheless, the de facto position of women within the family quite often is out of line with these principles. It is often left to the husband to take the most important decisions in the family and the wife continues to concern herself with the family and household chores, even if she has vocational interests away from the home. This is why we shall now take a look at concepts of the various roles played by the husband and wife within the family and the conflict to which this gives rise for the woman who wishes or has to seek work.

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2. The concept of roles within the family

Generally speaking, the husband works outside the home to provide for the material needs of the family while the wife works within the home on tasks of a household and emotional nature. Jean-Paul Hautecoeur (43) has observed the following. "It is generally accepted that the woman has responsibility for the children until they are old enough to go to school. When dividing up work between the husband and wife who form the domestic community, it is usual for the woman to undertake the general run of domestic chores and for the man to take up vocational work outside the household". The fact that the woman is chiefly responsible for household and educational tasks seems to result from her function as a mother, but far more from the ideology surrounding this biological function than from the actual biological function itself.

2.1. The emotional and educational function of the mother

As Clio Presvelou (105) has mentioned, in traditional rural communities, the maternal function is dominant. The more children a woman has, the greater her esteem. In societies of this kind, there is no visible sign of an emotional relationship between the wife and husband. If the woman shows affection towards her husband in the presence of strangers, this is considered as indecent and lacking in respect. The goal of marriage is procreation; the wife's affections are brought to bear entirely on the children and she aligns herself wholly and passively to the needs of the child. Breast-feeding is extremely important and for a woman to become pregnant before the end of the period during which custom expects her to feed her child is considered as a disgrace, because she has insufficient will power to withstand the demands of her husband. However, if the husband's sexual attentions are too strong, the wife can take her child and return to the husband's village. The husband, for his part, lives his life completely independent of wife and children.

Such glorification of motherhood as a woman's only chance of reaching true fulfilment is not, however, the prerogative only of traditional rural society. Christiane Moyret (116) writes as follows. "Through this intended purpose for motherhood, the woman, the source of life and custodian of life, acquires her true nature, her true greatness", and, following this line, it is from this maternal function that the peculiarly feminine qualities are derived that essentially confer on her the emotional role within the family: "intuition, delicacy, attentiveness, receptiveness, openness of spirit and of the heart, patience, imagination and, also tenacity, courage and a sense of honour" (116).

These claims are contradicted in a good many countries which, like those of Scandinavia set their face against a division of roles within the family which would be likely to root itself in an outlook characterised by ideological assumptions rather than biological reality. The contribution made by ethnological investigation and, particularly, by those of Margaret Mead display the lack of distinction in aptitudes attributed to the sexes, in the light of the civilisations that she has studied. In the Pacific and in New Guinea, for example, she has demonstrated that, among the Arapesh, the ideal couple consists of a gentle, responsive man, with a gentle, responsive wife, while, conversely, amongst the Mundugumer the ideal is represented by the violent, aggressive man

with a violent, aggressive wife, while amongst the Chambulis, the wife is the dominant partner, imperturbable and the leader, while the husband appears unobtrusive and submissive. As Herman San Martin (48) says, "we are born male and female, that is a genetic fact, but man's social role and that of woman are learned, they are a cultural acquisition peculiar to each society. Precisely from the latter fact, a mythology of masculinity and femininity has been developed. The greater part of contemporary societies, for example, expect the woman to fulfil her feminine role within marriage, as a good wife and dutiful mother. Nevertheless, motherhood is possible without marriage, and quite honestly so; but society penalises the woman who departs from the norm, by making motherhood relatively unpleasant for her.

Men, on the other hand, are not subject to any comparable sanctions. The result is that marriage becomes the goal for the majority of women in the majority of societies, since in them, an independent life is less easy for the woman than for the man". Consequently, by holding that the duties in the home and the educational role are more suitable for the woman than for the husband since she must expect to be dependent and protected, we are not re-affirming a law inherent in the nature of woman but merely noting the consequences of a number of factors which we shall give a closer look in the chapter devoted to education.

2.2. Domestic duties and household management

Household duties continue to be entirely or largely undertaken by women. It is important to stress first of all that even where the processes and devices invented and spread abroad by the advance of technology are available and used, the woman still spends a good deal of time on the preparation of food, the upkeep of clothing and on keeping the home.

This phenomenon seems to spring from the fact that customs have changed. Food, for example, has become more varied where, in the past, the same dish often served several times over, members of the family change their underwear far more frequently than used to be the case, higher and higher standards are set on the upkeep of the house, and so on.

Another important task that often seems to be entrusted to the woman in many countries is that of household management. Honore Rakotomanana (108) describes the Madagasc woman in the following terms, "place her within a rural environment or in an urban environment, take her in her capacity as customary wife or as legal wife, the Madagasc woman holds an important position within her home. Generally speaking, it is she who holds the purse strings, draws up her budget, makes provision for unavoidable expenditure, ensures payment, and sees to the material upkeep of the household and to the needs of the children. For this purpose, at all levels of society, she receives an allowance from her husband". The same applies in the case of the Japanese wife. "On her shoulders fall all the decisions concerning the home and the family budget. It is up to her to see her house is well kept.

It is the woman who, every morning, gives her husband the money he needs for his lunch and his travel. And every evening, before going to bed, she works out what she has spent during the day" (54). The same situation arises in Burma, "however, responsibility for the house falls on the wife;

in general, it is she who holds the purse strings" (48). Similarly, in the Philippines, "the wife is the acknowledged treasurer for the family" (20), and in France, eighty-three percent of purchases for the home are made by the women, at least as regards the ordinary consumer goods. Thus, "in France, women, as purchasers of the more common consumer products and, in most cases, keepers of the family purse, play a very important economic role as 'consumers'" (71).

2.3. The trend towards sharing the various duties

Industrialised countries

In industrialised countries, even if the wife goes out to work, she still to a large extent performs this double family and vocational role alone, except in Sweden, where sharing seems more wide-spread. Generally speaking, husbands help their wives with certain tasks on specific occasions (sickness, birth), but more often than not, their contribution is occasional and of a minor nature (132).

However, a trend is taking place in many countries towards better distribution of tasks within the family. In Quebec, for example, "the model of the father as educator and man-about-the-house, far from being an abstract notion, is put into effect in a number of families where the woman carries on an outside job and where the roles are given an equal value and shared with the aim of achieving equal freedom for the individuals making up the family" (43). A United Nations report (133) shows that the higher the social-professional status of the husband, the more he participates in household tasks and the higher the educational standard of the wife, the more these tasks are shared equally. "However, men adopt a selective approach towards the tasks that they fulfil - shopping, gardening, external cleaning and repair work, and with children they tend to take charge of outdoor activities - games, walks, taking to school and supervision of school homework. It is therefore evident that in industrialised countries, there are still strict limits to role-sharing.

Developing countries

In developing countries, the process of development towards a sharing of household duties takes a different form. The women have been, and still are, responsible for good production. The men go off to seek work and training and consequently the family is left in the entire charge of the wife. According to Rodney, as reported by Clio Presvelou (104), "the division of agricultural labour has been upset by the fact that to earn a wage the men have had to work elsewhere than on their own lands. The women who remain on the spot have thus been forced to undertake all the heavy work previously carried out by the men and have had to cultivate the land with primitive means in order to see to their needs and those of their children," and C. Presvelou adds, "the destruction of the social system based on the clan and its replacement by a husband/wife nuclear cell does not add to the independence of women. It may well be more likely that this is reduced. If her economic dependence on her husband increases, as do her obligations towards him and towards the family unit, the woman is no longer able to work together with the other women of her clan who then become unaware of the role that they play in agricultural production" (104).

Consequently, as Maryse Conde (20) has indicated, the woman's image becomes very blurred and fraught with contradictions, "they want her to be the keeper of tradition. At the same time, they would like her to keep abreast of the times. They also want her to be seductive, while associating seduction with an idea of guilt. In an ever-changing world, it is understandable that she should be the same, but since change of this kind is sub-consciously regarded with dismay and apprehension, she is not easily forgiven for it".

In short, it appears that the sharing of duties within the family will not be achieved until it becomes possible for women to obtain vocational employment on the same terms as her husband and if the husband is taught to take an active part in the education of the children and household tasks. As long as this is not achieved, discord and friction will remain. Either the woman will feel relegated by household tasks, which are greatly devalued in the majority of countries, or she will have to surmount the difficulty of doing justice to her household and family role and to a job away from the home.

3. Difficulties encountered by the married woman who holds down a job

The more that the productive work that women are increasingly called upon to carry on away from the home (remember that in rural societies, there was often no distinction between the home and the place of work) and the more that the rhythm of the hours imposed by an industrial way of life is determined by factors from outside family life, the sharper is the problem of compatibility between household duties and vocational work for those women who cannot or will not abandon either the one or the other. It should be noted that in Western industrialised countries, the existing situation is on the whole improving in this respect compared with what it was at the start of the industrial revolution, thanks to the reduction in working hours and the various kinds of protection gained by workers in the course of a century. The problem has not, however, been resolved for all that. On the contrary, in countries that are turning to industrialisation, the problem is only just beginning - in circumstances, moreover, quite different to those experienced in the countries of Europe and America.

It will further be noted that only recently has the trouble been taken, in certain countries, to make household duties compatible with vocational work not only for women but also for men, while stressing the joint responsibility that they must show towards their families and the extent to which they complement one another and indeed to which they may to a large degree substitute each other, in their contribution towards its material upkeep and the educational tasks that they must undertake. Concern for these matters is only just beginning to appear in certain countries. The diverseness of the historical, cultural, social and constitutional backgrounds are a sufficient indication why the solutions and measures contemplated must be adapted to the individual problems of each country with much circumspection.

The conflict between family responsibilities and participation in the vocational sphere with which women are faced has four aspects: economic, practical, psychological and ideological.

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3.1. Economic problems

"We are far from having the choice whether to stay at home or to work outside. I would repeat, women quite frequently work because they absolutely have to and not because they wish to. If they could spend all their time with their children in their own home and have sufficient to live on decently without too many tricky problems to resolve, women would stay at home", writes a representative of the Federation of French Families (58). Women therefore work chiefly for economic reasons. We might add that the same no doubt applies to a good many men. A survey carried out in France by the State Secretariat into the status of women and the results of which were reported by UNAF seems to confirm this theory with regard to women, since it shows that eighty-four percent of working mothers with families would sooner stop work and bring up their children (141). However, statistics show that attitudes differ from country to country. In Canada, only fifty-two percent of women gave economic reasons for choosing a vocation - forty percent gave self-improvement and development of the personality as the reason (125). Attitudes seem to differ even within one and the same country, since in another French report (69), sixty per cent of the women interviewed said that they would continue to work even if there was no financial need to do so.

The weight of the economic argument therefore varies in space and time and according to the ideology of those who adopt it. Although the argument may be effectively applied to many mothers with families, we should not too readily put it forward as the sole motive prompting women to work, even in the case of those who say that they do so for economic reasons. In fact, it is clear that this argument is, on the one hand, a reflection of ingrained ways of thinking and stereotypes as to woman's role in society and the sharing-out of tasks amongst the sexes, and, on the other, of a social framework which, due to the absence of appropriate structures, prevents the woman from simultaneously fulfilling her duties in the home and vocational tasks in full harmony. The weight of historic tradition, for its part, falls variously according to the extent to which women have been able, in the course of the centuries, to participate in the economic process. The economic conflict experienced by women relates either to the present: to ensure subsistence for the family, or to the longer term: the woman wishing to obtain financial security in the event of her being on her own again. In fact, women do not now regard marriage as a factor of economic security. The average length of a marriage linked to an increase in longevity has practically doubled within the space of a century. Consequently, it is all the more subject to vicissitude in the life of the couple (divorce, decease, or sickness of the spouse) and it accordingly no longer provides every assurance of an untroubled life.

The economic need for women to work may be discovered, varying with time or circumstance, particularly at this personal level of subsistence for the family and security for the future, but also at a level of the economy as a whole. The impetus given to women to put themselves on the labour market is not a chance one. For reasons both of quality and quantity, it appears necessary of adviseable for development purposes to seek the involvement of the unemployed resources of women. Demand of this kind will therefore vary strictly in accordance with the prevailing state of the economy, as regards both the type of work offered (and the jobs available) and the extent to which feminine ability is called upon. Accordingly, the effort made by public authorities to up-value the role of the mother and educator (and the extent to which the "irreplaceable" aspect is stressed) are based on the risk of the labour market

being saturated. Controls are imposed by means of bonuses and allowances, and by braking the institution of facilities and services intended to enable women the better to reconcile a double function. The fact that women express themselves and their desires often acts as a kind of more or less effective pressure group which influences the economic aspects of the process. International Women's Year, through its declarations and its publications, has certainly played a boosting part as regards the need to enable women the better to reconcile their double function with appropriate measures. The great many articles in the documentation consulted that dwelt on the theme of work have testified to this (see chapter 1).

3.2. Practical problems

A married woman who goes out to work will meet up with a certain number of practical problems which constitute a hidden or overt source of conflict either at the place of work or within the family.

One of the chief obstacles that might be mentioned is the fact that the woman's vocational life is frequently interrupted, whether due to the birth of children, sickness of members of the family or excessive tiredness affecting her through the double exercise of her functions within and outside the home.

There is no denying that the major obstacle that complicates the woman's chance of pursuing a vocation, and which will be found in most countries, is the absence or inadequacy of community facilities to look after the children. As regards young children, an ILO investigation shows that in most countries the existing day-nurseries are slow to adapt to the new requirements (48). A report by the Commission of the European Economic Community stresses this problem and it demonstrates that, generally, very little seems to have been done in Member States and that there is an urgent need for day-nurseries, which are nowhere adequate, to be developed so that the mother can be reconciled with her vocational and family duties. The report adds that responsibility for setting up facilities to look after and educate the children lies with the public authorities (26).

However, the problem of looking after the children also arises in respect of children of school age. In fact, there are practically no community services for children after school hours and during school holidays, and, what is more, many of the jobs open to women, such as those in the service sector, have irregular hours.

To the difficulty of looking after the children may be added the need to do the household chores after coming home from work. The ILO report already referred to (48) shows that, without exception, the married woman with an outside job works much longer in the home than does her husband, the total number of hours worked by her amounting to seventy or eighty a week. Mr. J. Chombart de Lauwe mentions that these long weekly working hours of women fit in with a well-rooted image of the woman devoted entirely to her home (22). This conflict also arises in developing countries and can even be aggravated at time through the effect of development plans. In fact, where such plans are badly integrated with regard to mechanical and technical innovation,

the result may be an excess of work for the woman. This happens, for example, if poultry farms are set up without the water supply within the rural community concerned being adequate, so that the woman is obliged to fetch water elsewhere (138).

3.3. Psychological and ideological problems

We have dealt with these two types of problem together since they prove in practice to be closely interlinked. In fact, the psychological problems encountered by women who carry on a job are quite often found to be underpinned by ideological values connected with the concept of woman's role.

These problems chiefly arise at two levels - that of the education of the children and that of male reaction to the wife's absence from the home. As regards the latter, it is very common for men to fear the shift of interests in a woman pursuing a vocation. They chiefly fear the establishment of extra-marital liaisons and the possibility of divorce. Here, of course, we find an image of woman subject to her husband even in the expression of her sexual nature, a characteristic of a good many societies, wherever their ideological roots may lie. The converse worry, i.e. the possible "dangers" to the home and couple that could arise from the husband's vocational activities is mentioned far less often. Most civilisations have granted the man a sexual freedom of which he is sole arbiter. While the reasons are various (be they merely the sex of those who produce the legislation), amongst them may be found a trace of an ancestral fear of the woman's sexual indiscretions upsetting the continuity of the line through the introduction of "bastards". Recent reforms in various countries in the legislation relating to illegitimate children, and particularly the general introduction of contraception, should facilitate the elimination of these differences between the freedom of the male and that of the female.

In many countries, too, the attitude of the working woman runs up against unfavourable male reaction.

Graciela Torricelli mentions that in Latin America "the woman doubles her efforts in her job and at home so that the man will forgive her for participating in the country's economic life by pursuing a vocational activity" (20). The Japanese woman must fulfil her traditional role of wife and mother while as regards her vocational life, she must remain respectful towards her male colleagues even while demonstrating a measure of initiative and efficiency (54). Further, it seems that male reserve also varies according to social class. "As one descends the social scale, opposition to the working woman, owing to the conditions in which a job is pursued, and insistence on the emotional role of the woman increase, thereby reflecting the division of functions within the family and a need for social prestige" (88). The mother's educational role, too, is closely linked to social-cultural factors. This "relativist" finding as now being widely adopted in most countries. While, as regards psychological development, it is imperative that the child should have a stable relationship with a privileged adult, it has not been scientifically demonstrated that the adult should necessarily be the mother or, in any event, that the uninterrupted and unsubstituted presence of the mother is indispensable to the child. The virtually continuous presence of the mother with the child as may be found in certain industrialised countries of the West, or in certain agricultural countries (where the mother carries the child with her on her back wherever she goes) is a phenomenon of a cultural kind which

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ethnological research has brought to light, while displaying the diverseness of educational models throughout the world. In certain countries with a traditional background, the child is looked after by another member of the family from an early age or otherwise integrated quickly into his peer-group. At the other end of the cultural scale, the socialist countries have set up community play group and educational facilities for children from birth onwards while their mothers are at work. The father's contribution to the education of the child has varied greatly from one culture to the next and it is generally acknowledged now that the Western industrial societies have minimised it to a dangerous extent.

There is no escaping the fact that, for women, the juxtaposition of family life and working life gives rise to a great number of contradictions as there is conflict between living conditions, aspirations and one's ideal conceptions. The existence side by side of these two feminine models - woman in the home and woman at work - presents her with a source of conflict and a vehicle for a strong feeling of guilt. The woman who stays at home sometimes has the feeling of uselessness through her failure to participate in the productive process and through her inability to contribute towards the funds of the household and, conversely, the woman who works outside has the feeling that the attention she gives her children is insufficient. By way of conclusion to this appreciation of the various conflicts encountered by the married woman who goes out to work, it is worth mentioning that Clio Presvelou has shown that the more a community is developed and technically oriented, the more the dual role of women creates conflict and the more a community is rural and its productive work follows traditional lines the weaker is the conflict within the dual role (130).

4. Social measures easing the mother's tasks in the home or helping her to reconcile her two roles

For reasons of public interest that we shall discuss (to ensure that women participate in economic development), to avoid procreation and education of future generations being jeopardised by working mothers and, further, to prevent working mothers from being faced with difficulties too great and too intricate to enable them properly to play their role as both mother and worker, the majority of governments have set up and are continually up-dating a package of measures intended to mitigate these risks. According to time, place, political policy and social and economic objectives, these measures are aimed at improving the attraction of the mother staying in the home or at enabling her to pursue a vocational career as well on the conditions that are materially and psychologically acceptable.

4.1. Up-valuing the duties of the mother in the home

Actions and proposals aimed at up-valuing the mother's duties in the home are generally intended to allow the woman a true choice between outside work and domestic duties. E.Vogel believes that what seems the more necessary is to recognise motherhood as a social function and that the value of married women's work in the household should be included when calculating GNP (150).

A report by the Council of Europe (45) states that the children's education should be regarded as work of very high economic and social value worthy of remuneration. Similarly, the report puts forward the idea, propounded by many family associations, that failure to remunerate work in the home is a form of

pressure denying freedom of choice to women. It has been suggested that an allowance fixed at one half of the minimum national wage and free of tax and social security charges should be paid to women who stay at home to raise their children. Attitudes have been found to differ with regard to an allowance paid to the mother who stays at home.

Some feel that such an allowance should be paid only to a mother who has no outside job, since her maternal function must be protected by granting her financial independence that would equally enable her to benefit from such social rights as social security and pensions. Others feel that no distinction should be drawn between the mother in the home and the mother at work since they all have to cope with their educational and material tasks and, consequently, a social wage should be paid to all mothers (52).

In addition to this "mother's wage", which would be paid to a mother with a family, it has been suggested that various kinds of aid should be available to assist mothers with their educational and maternal tasks. This would include advice and training courses that would be available through the mass media - television in particular (which could also be used as a means of reaching and providing fathers of families with information on these educational matters).

Finally, one other method of up-valuing the role of the mother in the home is to give her an opportunity to return to work after her children have been educated. Various approaches have been suggested, such as using the so-called "maternal service" period to broaden women's vocational skills (training posts, stand-by work, courses).

There are some (UDAF in Paris) who propose that mothers who want an outside job should be given priority on vocational training schemes within the framework of adult education and without any age limit.

Despite the wish expressed by many family associations that the mother's work in the home should be up-valued, the tendency everywhere at the present time is essentially for measures easing women's access to and pursuit of a vocational career to predominate.

4.2. Easing women's access to and pursuit of a vocational career in addition to their family duties

These measures are aimed primarily at protecting motherhood, but also seek to encourage part-time working and "flexitime".

4.2.1. Protecting motherhood

The steps taken in various countries to protect motherhood include maternity leave for more or less extensive periods, sometimes paid, sometimes not, various support schemes, measures guaranteeing either security of employment for pregnant women or re-employment and pension guarantees for women after interrupting employment for maternity reasons, and leave for the father or the mother when the children are ill. By way of example for each of the countries about which we have information, we shall in turn describe certain measures that have been implemented, but we cannot hope to give any kind of exhaustive account for any of these countries of the full set of legislative provisions for the protection of motherhood.

Austria: A woman who temporarily leaves work to look after young children receives an allowance paid by the unemployment fund for a period of up to one year from the birth of the child. Her rights of seniority are not affected by absence of this kind (45).

Family allowances are granted to any person who brings up a child at home, or, where this does not apply, who bears the greater part of maintenance costs. The amount increases with the number of children. These allowances are paid fourteen times a year (28).

Belgium: Family payments are available comprising a natal allowance that reduces up to the third child and remains steady as from the third, and family allowances which increase from the first to the fifth child and include a supplement based on the age of the child and the presence of handicaps (29).

Bulgaria: The length of maternity leave depends on the number of children. The mother continues to receive her full wage throughout the period of leave, as follows:

first child	:	120 days
second child	:	150 days
third child	:	180 days
fourth child onwards	:	120 days

The mother is further entitled to leave to look after a sick child, during which she receives payments equal to the minimum wage, as follows:

for the first child	:	6 months
for the second child	:	7 months
for the third child	:	8 months
from the 4th child onwards	:	6 months

If a mother does not take such leave, she will be entitled to an allowance equal to one half of the minimum wage in addition to her own earnings.

Women are entitled to unpaid leave, which is regarded as a working year, until the child is three years old.

A mother or father is entitled to sixty days of paid leave per year to look after a sick child aged less than sixteen. The full wage is payable.

Jobsecurity

No woman may be refused a job because she is pregnant.

A pregnant woman may not be dismissed after the fourth month of pregnancy.

A woman's contract of employment may not be modified until her child is eight months old.

A woman may not be dismissed during leave for maternity reasons or for looking after a child.

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As from the fourth month of pregnancy until the child is ten months old, women are given less exacting work, with full retention of salary.

Benefits

Parents receive birth grants, whether the father and mother are working or not.

Family allowances are available to workers families at a rate of five leva per month, fifteen for the second, thirty-five for the third, and then five leva for each subsequent child.

An unmarried mother receives 10 leva per month for the first child and, if she does not work, half of the minimum wage until the child is two years old (92).

Canada: A Royal Commission of Inquiry has recommended the following:

- entitlement to 18 weeks' maternity leave,
- entitlement to 6 months' mandatory leave after the confinement, unless a medical certificate is provided certifying that the mother is fit to work,
- prohibition on the dismissal of a woman for any reason whatever during maternity leave to which she is entitled.

The way in which these recommendations are put into practice varies according to province (86).

In Quebec State, the family allowances scheme applies to all. It provides for an allowance for the mother or, as the case may be, the father of any (unmarried) child aged under eighteen, the amount of which varies according to the child's age and his status within the family. It is not necessary for the child to attend an educational institution for the right to family allowances to be available (85).

Cyprus: A maternity grant is available for any birth and maternity allowances for working women. The allowances are paid for twelve weeks.

No family benefits scheme has been set up. The State provides assistance for families below the breadline (30).

Denmark: Maternity payments have been discontinued as from 1 July 1973. Financial assistance is given to needy parents.

Family allowances are paid in respect of any child aged under eighteen. These allowances are increased if only one parent sees to the child's needs or if the parent draws a disablement or old age pension (31).

Spain: After the period of paid maternity leave, a working mother can take optional unpaid leave for an additional period of at least one year and of not more than three years. She may ask to be taken on again at any time during that period and the employer is obliged to give her the first free place in the appropriate category (48).

Finland: A lump-sum maternity grant is paid for each birth.

Family payments are made for each child aged under sixteen, varying according to the number of children, and a supplementary allowance is granted if the child is handicapped (32).

France: Women are not allowed to work for at least four weeks on either side of a birth. This period may be increased to fourteen weeks and during it remuneration is now paid equal to 90% of the wage. As soon as pregnancy has been medically certified, and for twelve weeks following the confinement, the employer is not entitled to cancel the contract of employment unless he can prove that the woman concerned has been seriously at fault or for reasons unconnected with the pregnancy and confinement; even so, he may not serve notice of dismissal during the fourteen weeks during which the contract is suspended by virtue of the birth.

A woman is entitled to leave her job without notice as soon as her condition is evident.

A woman may take one year's unpaid leave to look after her child. At the end of that period, the employer must take her back if he has a vacant place for which she is suitably qualified; if he does so, the woman concerned will have restitution of all advantages enjoyed before her departure.

In addition to these statutory provisions, substantial advantages have been obtained through collective bargaining for mothers in a certain number of jobs (69).

Maternity benefit

These may be sub-divided into a pre-natal allowance and a maternity allowance. The pre-natal allowance is paid in three instalments, provided that pregnancy is certified before the end of the third month and that the statutory pre-natal examinations have been made in due course. The maternity allowance is paid if the birth took place within the first two years of the marriage or before the mother has reached age 25. After that, it is paid only if the birth took place within three years of the preceding. The maternity allowance is paid in two instalments, one at birth and one after six months (33).

Family benefit

This is paid as from the second child to any household, whether wage-earners or not. It increases with the number of children and rises with the age of the child. It is paid until the child reaches either age sixteen or, if it is serving an apprenticeship, age eighteen, or if it is continuing its studies, age twenty.

Special allowances also exist for handicapped minors.

A lump-sum wage-tied allowance is paid if there is only one income, provided that at least one child is being looked after and that total resources lie below a certain ceiling (33).

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Greece: A married woman who goes out to work in the private sector is entitled to six weeks' leave before and six weeks' leave after the birth. This period is two months before and two months after the birth in the case of civil servants.

Mothers who feed their children themselves are entitled to two half-hour pauses during the working day. Civil servants may take two hours off per day during the first two years following the birth, and then a half-hour's absence until the child is four years old.

Maternity payments: an insured woman whose status as mother prevents her from working receives a sum equal to forty-two days' working wage on the basis of the period preceding the birth and the same sum after the birth.

Family payments: any wage earner receives these for children aged under fifteen. The sum varies according to the number of children.

There is no "social wage" for a parent who remains at home but certain wage earners in the private sector receive a lump-sum addition to salary if the child is a minor (35).

Hungary: After five months of maternity leave on full wages, a working mother may opt to stay at home until her child has reached age three and, during that period, which is taken into account in retirement calculations, she receives a home mother's allowance and the return of her job is guaranteed (48).

Ireland: Maternity benefit: a maternity grant is available to the woman under her personal insurance and maternity benefits under the insurance of either husband or wife. The maternity grant is paid six weeks before and six weeks after the birth.

Family benefits: these are paid whatever the parents' situation for any child aged under sixteen years or under eighteen years if it is still in full time education, on an apprenticeship or incapacitated. They rise with the number of children (36).

Italy: Maternity leave extends over two months before the confinement and three months after it. A daily allowance is paid throughout the period, of 50% of the normal remuneration, and 100% in the case of civil servants. The woman has the option of extending this leave by six months at 30% of her most recent wage (37).

Family benefits: these are paid to the head of the family in the form of payments for persons looked after (spouse, children, parents and, in certain cases, brothers and sisters).

The woman is entitled to stay away from work by submitting a medical certificate in the case of the sickness of a child aged less than three. No allowance is paid (37).

Luxembourg: An allowance is paid on the birth of any child and a pre-natal allowance if the mother undergoes two pre-natal medical examinations.

Family benefits increasing with the number of children are granted for any child aged less than nineteen (38).

Mongolia: A working woman is entitled to pay maternity leave for 101 days. She may take six months' unpaid leave additionally, her job being left open for her.

Mothers with more than four children aged below sixteen receive an allowance based proportionately on the number of children (27).

Panama: A working woman is entitled to sixteen weeks' maternity leave. During that period, she receives her full wage.

An employer may not dismiss a woman either during her pregnancy or during her maternity leave, nor during the twelve months following such leave (55).

The Netherlands: Maternity benefit for a working woman may reach the full amount of her wage. It is paid for six months before and six months after confinement.

Family allowances are paid in all cases for the third child and all subsequent children up to age sixteen. They rise with the number of children. In the case of the first and second child, payments are made to wage earners, but a ceiling applies to the self-employed.

These allowances are paid up to age twenty-seven in the case of a student, a young person undergoing vocational training, or invalids (39).

Poland: A working woman is granted paid maternity leave up to the full amount of the net wage for a period of sixteen weeks for the first birth and of eighteen weeks for subsequent births. She may additionally take unpaid leave until the child has reached age three. Her job, her seniority and advantages acquired are kept open for her.

If her child is sick, a woman may obtain paid leave on full wage for a period of sixty days per year (55).

German Democratic Republic: No organisation may dismiss a woman during her pregnancy or within six months after the confinement.

Maternity leave has been increased to eighteen weeks and during that period social security offers benefit equal to the average net wage. The woman may obtain leave of absence until the child is one year old without the contract of employment being discontinued.

For six months following her confinement, a woman feeding her child herself is entitled to two forty-five minute pauses, during which she receives a compensatory allowance equal to her average wage.

Two days' leave is available for looking after a sick child, with pay at 90% of the average wage.

Women receive a birth grant for each child and all parents, whatever their income, receive a regular national allowance (79).

Federal Republic of Germany: Maternity allowances are available to working women equal to the average wage. They are paid by the employer throughout the period of mandatory leave.

A special allowance is available to housewives equal to the average wage, paid by the sickness insurance schemes.

A lump-sum confinement grant and an allowance in respect of a sick child aged below eight years is available for a period of five days per year at the most (34).

People's Republic of Korea: Mothers having several children work only six hours a day but are paid for eight hours of work.

United Kingdom: A lump-sum allowance is paid in respect of each confinement under the insurance of either husband or wife.

A weekly maternity allowance is paid only under the mother's insurance for eighteen weeks as from the eleventh week before confinement.

All families having at least two children receive family benefit (41).

Sweden: With effect from 1 January 1974, maternity insurance has been replaced by a scheme of payments to parents made for a total period of seven months. Parents are free to divide up their time as they see fit and whoever remains at home will receive benefit equal to 90% of the income lost, each enjoying the same guarantees with regard to return to work, seniority and pension rights (82-48).

At the present time, however, only 2% of new fathers remain with their children. Generally, they take advantage of only twenty-four days out of the seven months. (2).

Ten days of paid holiday per family is also available in the case of sick children aged under ten. This leave is made the most of by the men (2).

Switzerland: As regards family benefits, a Federal Act makes provision for agricultural workers and farmers and cantonal legislation for wage earners. This cantonal legislation has the same general features but important differences occur as regards the amount of benefit and the way it is distributed. Benefit is paid in respect of children aged below sixteen or up to age twenty-five in the case of students and handicapped persons (40).

Czechoslovakia: The contract of employment of a pregnant woman or one having a child aged below three years cannot be terminated.

Women may obtain twenty-six weeks' maternity leave (thirty-five weeks in the case of single women) and during that period they receive an allowance paid from social security, equal to 90% of the daily wage.

Any working woman whose husband also works receives a maternity grant in respect of each birth.

Family allowances are paid to all workers irrespective of the amount of their income. They rise with the number of children aged below fifteen. In the case of students and the incapacitated, allowances may be paid up to age twenty-six.

An allowance is available equal to the sickness benefit for looking after a child below the age of ten if the establishment or the person who normally does so are unable to act. This allowance is paid for a maximum of six working days.

As from the beginning of July 1970, a mother remaining at home receives an allowance if she has a child aged less than two and one or more children of school age. This allowance increases for each child up to three children (56).

Tunisia: Thirty days only are provided by way of maternity leave, increased, where necessary, by fifteen days on medical advice (121).

U.S.S.R.: No pregnant woman or one having children aged less than one year may be dismissed.

Maternity leave is given for four months on full salary to all working women irrespective of their seniority at work. Maternity leave may be extended by unpaid leave until the child is aged one and the woman continues to keep her job and her seniority.

Where the mother continues to feed children aged less than one herself she is granted a half-hour's pause every three hours. Remuneration continues during the pause.

Also available are monthly family allowances paid to the mother for the upkeep and education of the children, a single grant paid at birth as from the third child, and a monthly allowance as from the fourth child (from the first, in the case of single mothers).

The mother or father is also given a certain number of days off on full pay to look after a sick child (25 and 110).

Yugoslavia: Paid maternity leave has been increased from six months to one year (113).

It will therefore be seen that in all countries various kinds of assistance are offered to families towards the education of the children. Further, an extension may be seen to emerge here and there to the concept of parental responsibility whereby the father is given the same rights as the mother to take time off to look after children after birth or when they are ill.

4.2.2 Part-time and flexible time working

Part-time working allows the wife to devote the rest of her time to her domestic and family tasks and it is consequently often considered as allowing married women a chance to reconcile their double role. However, although a substantial number of women in all countries (50% of married women in the Netherlands and nearly one third of active women in the United Kingdom) (26) have taken up part-time work, this has produced varying reactions. For some women, it effectively constitutes the only direct solution to their existing position, but it further confirms the fact that, for women, work need not be only a matter of "pin money" and an activity of secondary importance to her true role, which is that of mother in the home.

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Jean Lauren (81) has analysed the advantages and disadvantages of part-time working as follows.

For society, part-time work is of more than passing interest. In fact, women keep up the skills they have acquired and consequently the capital invested in training them is put to work. In this way, society can develop or extend the length of a certain number of services and can, moreover, make full use of human resources and increase consumption.

For women, part-time working has certain advantages. While reducing the length of work, it allows women to maintain contact with the outside world and to participate in economic and social life. Women can thus utilise and maintain their skills while also having the opportunity of flexible and varied hours fitting in with their family tasks.

Despite these advantages, part-time working also presents the working woman with considerable disadvantages that are not unlikely to encourage discrimination at work between men and women. The lack of any rules governing part-time work means that exploitation may be substantial; for example, there is a risk of a higher level of output being demanded and the risk of dismissal appears to be greater. Further, part-time work increases the difficulty of promotion to responsible positions as the position could arise of the full-time workers accusing the working woman of disloyal competition. Finally, as Jeanne Mance Dube (14) has demonstrated, the sectors where many part-time workers are employed are firstly the service industries, which confines the woman to her traditional role as assistant, and secondly home-working, which represents the worst form of exploitation.

For the woman, therefore, part-time working reinforces the social cleavage between men and women in those sectors where it is common and it can be no more than a "means to pierce a breach in the stronghold still reserved to men. What must be prevented, however, is for a situation of this kind to become some kind of ghetto from which we shall find it difficult to escape".

It therefore seems that in the existing situation where the male and female roles are fairly strictly defined and where society is quite appreciably under-equipped at community services level, part-time working is actually the most suitable approach towards reconciling the two roles of woman.

When considering the dangers of part-time work for women, we must not lose sight of those inherent in it for workers as a whole, and this is why we subscribe to the ILO view that part-time work cannot "be substituted either for measures aimed at reinforcing the social infra-structure, so as to enable workers to occupy a full-time job whenever they want one, or for a general reduction in working time" (82).

Another measure that could ease the lot of the working woman is the introduction of "flexitime" while retaining the normal length of work. At the present time, the arrangements of this kind that have been made seem to have been operated insufficiently long for any decisive comment to be made on them.

Besides, as regards this chapter as a whole, the question put in many countries and by many organisations is - should we not improve working conditions

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for all workers, men and women, rather than operate discrimination in favour of the latter? For example, should we not aim at a reduction in working hours for workers as a whole rather than reduce the working hours of women only? In that way, men and women would both be free to take up their family duties together and to participate in community work with which it is desirable they should both become increasingly more closely associated.

4.2.3. Development of community services

A source of assistance to women in their educational and household tasks is the development of community services. Relieved of some of the work within the family, they may consequently devote more time to a vocational pursuit and reconcile the two roles on a more equal basis and feel less tied down. Moreover, community aids and services can offer specific value-advantages complementing the work done within the family. Community services enable, on the one hand, the children to be looked after either by nursery facilities for young children (creches, maternity centres) or by educational facilities coping with children outside school hours, and, on the other, outside household services to be set up such as laundries, maintenance facilities, kitchens, etc. that can relieve the mother of a family of some of her chores.

Home domestic services, such as those rendered by home helps, allow both the educational and household tasks to be seen to when the parents are not available.

Although wide-spread support has been given to the development of community services concerned with the care of children, their number is still to a large extent inadequate in many countries.

For example, the number of children of less than three years of age whose mothers work away from the home is estimated at 800,000 in Germany and 79,000 in Belgium, while the number of places available in nurseries is 20,428 in Germany and 13,568 in Belgium. In Denmark, the public creches can take only 7% of children at an age to use them. In France, according to a 1968 estimate, there is only one nursery place for every ten active women with a child aged under three, and the situation has hardly improved since. In the United Kingdom, the 27,104 places offered by the public nursery schools are reserved in the first instance to "social cases", i.e. children of single mothers, widows and divorced persons. In Italy, the Act of 6 December 1971 is an example of a positive trend; it provides for the introduction of a five-year plan to erect 3,800 creches, of which 1,400 have been produced within the space of two years (26). In Czechoslovakia, 12% of children aged under three are in creches and 50% of those aged between three and six go to kindergarten (49). In East Germany, 43% of children aged below three are placed in creches and 80% of children aged between three and six attend kindergarten (55). Certain countries, such as China, have a fully defined creches organisation; the majority of factories having baby-minding facilities and the mother being entitled to one half hour on full pay every two or three hours to feed the child (67).

As regards nursery schools, conditions are on the whole more satisfactory, though quite appreciable differences exist between one country and another and it is rare for such establishments to be able to take all the eligible children.

Here are some European examples: in 1973, nursery schools in Belgium could take only 60% of children between three and six, in Italy 50%, in the Netherlands 90% to 100% according to age group, and in 1974 in Denmark only 30%. Further, rural areas everywhere are largely penalised as regards facilities for the care of children of pre-school age (26). In Czechoslovakia, the nursery schools take 65% of children in the eligible age groups (56).

As regards the care of school children outside school hours, community facilities seem to be inadequate or even non-existent virtually everywhere. Although substantial efforts have been made in the socialist countries, East Germany for example, where 60% of children are looked after during the afternoons for the first four years of school, or the U.S.S.R., where children of school age are supervised after hours by the schools or supervised activity groups where children can rest, feed, play and form leisure groups (25), other countries are only just beginning to introduce services of this kind. It should be noted that this may be identified with a way of town living characteristic of highly developed countries and that the problem is likely to take quite a different form in countries that remain largely agricultural or where family structures are more integrated, or also where the chief interest continues to be aimed towards universal primary schooling. Apart from the latter point, the same applies to the chreches and baby-minding facilities in certain countries where, even if the mother works, care and supervision may still be a matter for neighbours or relatives.

In addition, now and again some resistance may be found to children being taken into care in very early childhood, where some consider the role of the mother to be irreplaceable. The trend towards lengthening maternity leave that we have referred to is a sign of this.

Similarly there are those who consider that community care of children outside school hours reduces the educational role of the family which they consider to be of prime importance. Conversely, those communities that have set up a large network of facilities of this kind have done so in order to accentuate the early "socialisation" of children and to equip them the better for subsequent participation in attaining the collective aims of the countries concerned.

Demand for the institution of community housekeeping facilities seems slight at the present time in most countries. However, in Bulgaria, a principal aim is the transfer of essential domestic chores to public services, "but the social organisations intended to undertake household activities are very much behindhand in matching requirements. We still have not progressed beyond the traditional concept of household duties being the province of the woman" (92).

4.2.4. The re-organisation of domestic and family life

Simplification of household activities by using electrical appliances, modern materials that are easy to maintain, and planning and organisational techniques in the home will ease the way for re-organising domestic and family life so as to allow women access to vocational work under improved conditions.

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but efforts should primarily be aimed at a better distribution of tasks as between men and women on all domestic and educational matters. This implies a re-organisation of the working environment with a certain number of measures such as a reduction in working hours for all workers or the grant of leave to either spouse without discrimination for such purposes as looking after a child. The first step is therefore to give boys and girls training for these tasks on an equal basis while they are still at school and to educate their general outlook.

In this connection, we would refer to the conclusions of the Committee on "Vocational Work of Women with Family Responsibilities" (International Conference on the Condition of Women - IUFO 1975). "Education of outlook in this way must aim at replacing the profit motive by community spirit and at allowing the couple a real choice in their activities, free of feelings of guilt towards their children and towards society, which would show interest in and co-operate with their efforts.

To achieve such a reform of outlook, discussion and experimentation is taking place here and there on introducing elements of educational science, household management and family legislation as part of the school curriculum after the sixth year.

In addition to these long-term educational measures, which further include the recognition of motherhood not only as a personal matter but as a social function ("a productive task by staggered process") it is up to society:

- to institute and support immediate steps, as for example in the Netherlands, where 300 couples (advised and guided by Government) are attempting as "symmetrical families" to achieve full distribution of family and vocational duties;

- or to examine the problem of keeping open jobs for mothers during their maternity leave and while they are raising young children, from the aspect of comparison with legislation on the return to employment of a man undertaking his national service;

- or, otherwise, to examine, support and subsidise pilot schemes for private groups, (households, day nurseries of baby-minding groups supervised by parents on a rotal basis with the assistance of a professional educationalist) so as to promote the community spirit referred to above.

The Committee seemed to agree on a specific trend - that towards an equal distribution of rights and duties amongst men and women, not with a competitive aim but with an eye to harmony and co-operation.

Seen from this angle, the question of "freedom of choice" between the needs of the home and a vocational job, so ardently demanded by women in the heat of debate, is just as applicable to men. A true choice at the various cross-roads of a person's life is possible only on the basis of "socialisation" with community spirit and proper school and vocational training. Seen in this lighth, the problem involves every adult individual in his capacity as citizen of each and every country".

To conclude all the matters raised in this chapter, we would mention that the equality of man and wife within the family depends on equality at a vocational level. We would therefore associate ourselves with the analysis by P.Chombar de Lauwe (23) who feels that if women are to be entitled to work on the same basis as men, this requires:

- re-organisation of work and the organisation
- new legislation on marriage where existing law is out of line with the present situation
- a change in teaching and the models instilled into children
- education for couples and community leaders
- the institution of community facilities

Nonetheless, when introducing such a system of interlinked approaches, three snags must be avoided; those of considering the woman in isolation, studying the problem of work for women without reference to the social structures as a whole, and examining the problem without comparing the situation in other countries individually and internationally.

It is therefore clear that the solutions are not simple ones and that the modification of isolated aspects only will in no way resolve these problems but that the transformation of a number of social, economic and ideological structures is imperative while still taking account of the fragile balance of existing forces.

II. WOMAN AND VOCATIONAL WORK

The topic of female labour is often held to be the corner stone of women's claim to greater autonomy and more participation in community life. In countries - whether developed or developing - where strong emphasis is placed on producer activities, it would appear that the "non-producers" have difficulty in finding a niche and in achieving social recognition. While work is admittedly only one of the problems besetting women in the modern world, it certainly occupies a central position in thinking on women's status and tends to become a symbol on which public agitation can be based. This is amply proved by the fact that this is by far the most common topic dealt with in the vast documentation that has appeared in all countries in connection with International Womens Year and to which we have had recourse. It is perhaps worth mentioning by way of introduction that productive work by women is by no means a new phenomenon in the history of civilisation; however, the expansion of industry and the wage-earning sector has given it new dimensions.

1. Difficulties of integration into an industrialised working environment

All research into women's vocational work demonstrates that the active female population is growing more rapidly than the total active population. However, the extent of participation still remains relatively unequal according to country, sectors of work, degree of industrial development and the colour of government. For example, in Eastern European countries, the proportion of active working woman lies between 45% and 60% of the total active population (137). In Western Europe, Northern America, Australia and Japan, this proportion varies between 20% and 40% (137). In Africa, Asia and Latin America, the proportions are high, but not always easy to ascertain since work is mainly confined to the agricultural sector. In the Middle East, on the other hand, the proportion of working women is negligible (137).

An increase in the proportion of married women who go out to work has been observed *pari passu* with this rise in the active female population, but this increase has been particularly substantial in the countries of Eastern Europe (132):

- in Poland, the 1950 proportion of working women who were married was 20%, in 1970 it was 70%;

- in Bulgaria, the 1971 proportion of working woman was 85%.

However, this trend is also found in other countries, although less markedly so:

- in Sweden, the percentage of married women going out to work on a full-time or part-time basis increased from 16% in 1950 to 47% in 1973 (82);

- in Japan, the proportion of married women going out to work increased from 25% in 1960 to 46% in 1972 (132).

- In Canada, the following trend was noted in the province of Quebec (16):

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- in 1951, 7.4% of married woman had a job,
- in 1961, this was 14.4%,
- in 1971, 28.4%.

In the Netherlands, in 1971, 18% of all married women below the age of 65 were working on a full or part-time basis as against only 7% in 1960 (46).

This increase in the proportion of married women working will be found to apply also to those with children. In 1972, in Sweden, 53% of married women with children below the age of seven were working and, in France, in 1968, the proportion of married women working was 45% of those having a single child aged below three, 26% with two children and 14% with three children. Despite this general phenomenon of an increase in the number of women with a vocation, it is a well known fact in the majority of countries that the status of the working woman in an industrialised environment, or one in the course of becoming industrialised, and including automated rural communities, is still a far more humble one than that of the man.

1.1. Disparities in opportunities for a vocational career

This phenomenon is linked to sexual discrimination at all levels, which in turn is bound up with the organisation of society in general and the role of woman in society. In fact, female labour is organised in relation neither to the true conditions of life nor to actual need, but to stereotyped ideas as to the role of woman.

Discrimination of this kind operates at all levels - recruitment, opportunities for progress, promotion and posts of responsibility, and fields of work reserved to women. We shall examine each of these points in turn.

1.1.1. Recruitment opportunities and openings

Women's access to jobs continues to meet up with a number of difficulties, including the arguments put forward by many employers to explain their reluctance to recruit female staff.

As set out in an "Extract from a Report by the Committee on Work for Women" (Belgium) (10), these arguments take the following line. The first one put forward is that of female absenteeism. In fact, an O.E.C.D. report (1973) shows that this kind of absenteeism is due far more to the nature of the job than to the sex of the individual.

An investigation made in the U.S.A. by the Public Health Department (1967) similarly helps to sink this myth about absenteeism. This investigation in fact shows that the number of days lost through sickness or accidents was 5.6. days in the case of women and 5.3. days in the case of men (48). A number of European investigations have shown similar findings and therefore contribute towards demolishing the stereotype of the greater weakness of the working woman.

The other arguments put in the Belgian report quoted above are the costs incurred for the sanitary facilities required when women are employed and dis-organisation of team working since women are not allowed to do night work.

It is already evident here how specific legislation intended to protect the working woman can have ambiguous effects and encourage discrimination. Furthermore, employers claim that men are hostile to the employment of women and that this may jeopardise the atmosphere within the business, women often being considered as an intrusion and a threat to men in countries where unemployment is prevalent.

Finally, the ultimate argument put forward is the lack of profitability in training women since they often leave their job in order to get married and thereby interrupt their career. On this question, a progress report by the National Scientific Research Centre (C.N.R.S.) in France (1972) shows that wastage of female research staff was less than in the case of male staff - 3% as against 4.5% (84). The same point is made in an article in the UNESCO Courier of March 1975 (48), where the theory is questioned that women's vocational life breaks down into three stages.

In fact, in many Western countries, a woman's vocational career is found to be continuous; in the socialist countries, it is virtually continuous and in many of the developing countries, female careers are becoming more and more so due to household penury, the custom for women to undertake heavy work, and the fact that it is essentially she who is responsible for the family.

Added to these arguments put by employers against the recruitment of female staff are the social-cultural stereotypes whereby a certain number of jobs and careers are closed to women or, at least, are very difficult for them to enter. We therefore find a heavy concentration of working women in certain less well-paid fields of work, located for the most part outside the sphere of industrial production. In France, for example, in 1973, 64% of active women were employed in service industries, 26% in the transforming industries, and 10% in primary industry (144). In the essentially male sectors of industry, female staff are for the most part non-worker and fill office and administrative jobs. The position is quite different, however, in the countries of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. where the majority of women in fact work in industry and agriculture and, in Bulgaria, the most rapid growth in female labour has been in the sectors linked to advanced technology (mechanical manufacturing, electronics and industrial chemistry) (92).

In developing areas, such as Africa and Asia, most jobs for either sex are derived from agriculture; in Latin America, agriculture provides the majority of jobs but women are chiefly employed in non-agricultural and non-industrial occupations and also, particularly, in domestic service (138).

On the other hand, in the towns, women face great difficulty in finding work, particularly if they are illiterate or semi-educated, which is the position in most cases.

Generally speaking, prejudice with regard to the employment of women and a splitting-up of duties according to a predetermined sexual scheme of distribution and not according to the skills of the individual mean that women are far more vulnerable to unemployment than men and are particularly sensitive to the hazards of the prevailing economic situation, at least in

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capitalist countries. By way of example, male unemployment in Belgium rose between 1971 and 1974 by 13.9% while that of women rose by 85.8%, according to those receiving full unemployment benefit (10).

Similarly, a report by the Committee on Work for Women of April 1975 (89) shows that in France, as compared with men, young women aged under twenty-five were the more affected by unemployment; their vulnerability to dismissal was twice as great, the percentage of women under twenty-five looking for jobs was greater and such women had to wait longer before finding work.

All these difficulties in obtaining work encountered by women mean that they constitute an easily tapped, amenable and undemanding source of labour, prepared to accept the less desirable, so called "female" jobs, and likely to jeopardise any general increase in wage levels. Mona Josée Gagnon considers that "the health of the free enterprise economic system is to a large extent dependent on the existence of a labour pool of this kind" (13).

In any event, it is quite clear that such discrimination in access to employment has very appreciable repercussions on women's chances of promotion during their vocational career.

1.1.2. The problems for female labour in the acquisition of a skill

Women's promotion difficulties have shown us that they only rarely occupy important positions. The concentration of female labour into certain semi-skilled sectors and the disparities between wage rates for men and women have already given us occasion to mention the problem of the latter's lack of skills either through the absence of training facilities or because such training is misaligned. In France, for example, 72.5% of women fill unskilled categories (72) and an E.E.C. report indicates that although the proportion of girls is more or less the same at the various levels of skilled work in the more "feminised" sectors, in those sectors where boys are prevalent, on the other hand, women are increasingly less apparent as the level of skills rises (26). As a report by the Committee on Vocational Work for Women with Family Responsibilities (IUFO International Conference on the Family, Paris 1975) shows, "the fact that women are mainly concentrated in unskilled vocations (operatives, handlers) and in temporary work, confers upon them a minority status in society and towards themselves since they have become interchangeable.... In fact, we should not forget that in industrialised countries, the individual's position in society is conditioned by his position within his vocation".

Side by side with the industrialisation process, there is another phenomenon, that of the down-grading of the skills of female labour. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the rural environments of both developed and developing countries.

In France, for example, changes in the method of producing and marketing agricultural products and changes in social-economic structures have tended to shut out women from taking part in the running of the farm. Mrs. Becouarn, in an article on "The Status of Woman in Agriculture" (9) analyses this in the following way. At the beginning of the century, agricultural production followed autarchical lines, the decision-making unit being formed by the husband and wife and the roles being divided up between them. Women had

access to production work, transformation work and that of marketing the products. Their social status was governed by two criteria: their reputation based on their ability to manage the farm and an undefined income obtained from the sale of produce from small-holdings. Today, the dimension of production work has changed. Work is aimed essentially at sales and not at home consumption of the product. The decision-making unit has shifted away from the running aspect, since more and more resort has to be made to technical advisors and, on this point, the husband is more knowledgeable than his wife. Finally, as a result of mechanisation, women are involved only before and after the main task, men occupying the key position - on or with the machine. Nor can women any longer assert their three roles - domestic, professional and family - since mechanised work demands full attention to the task in hand. Consequently, the status that most country women assume is that of "hand" or "dog's-body" accompanied by a feeling of frustration owing to the lack of clear earnings.

It should, however, be noted that even though we have little information in this respect about the socialist countries, it would seem that the position there is slightly different, at least in as much as the woman obtains a wage for work on running the farm, e.g. in the Soviet collective and State establishments.

This process of down-grading the woman's role in rural communities may also be found in developing countries. In an article in *Ceres*, Clio Presvelou states that "development policies, which are Western in origin, have only increased the marginal status of women in the agricultural sector. Men are taught to use modern productive methods while women continue to use traditional methods for subsistence cultivation which is considered to have no commercial value" (20). Although women retain an important role in agricultural tasks, agricultural reform has led to the husband becoming the boss and his wife thereupon depending entirely on her husband at an economic level. It further seems that even though women may often benefit directly or indirectly from the World Food Programme, on certain projects they carry out the worst paid tasks.

This problem of the skills of female labour is in every case associated, on the one hand, with that of the training given at school to girls as opposed to boys and, on the other, with that of family influence which tends to minimise the importance of training for girls. We shall deal with this problem in a special chapter.

1.1.3. Opportunities for advancement and posts of responsibility

In most countries and in all sectors of employment, women but rarely attain positions of responsibility and control.

In Canada, for example, "women rarely go beyond middle management level" (47) and this position will be found to exist in teaching, where indeed the preponderance of labour is female. In 1967, in British Columbia, out of 245 head teachers in one area, only 5 were women. In 1968, in Ontario, 88 senior positions at the Ministry of Education were given to men and only 1 to a woman, and there were 380 male inspectors as against 27 female.

In Quebec, again in 1968, at the Commission for Catholic Schools at Montreal (the largest Schools Commission in Quebec), 89% of teachers at elementary level

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were female but only 51.8% were heads. The Commission's own staff was 16.3% female and not one of these held an important position (125). The proportion of female teachers decreases as the level of teaching rises, falling to 17% at Quebec universities in 1971 (15).

Discrimination of the same kind exists in State Education in France, where equality of rights is insufficient to create true equality. Females are represented in the teaching body to a decreasing degree the higher one goes in the pyramid. At the lowest level, women are the chief victims of supply teaching, forming 84.5% of replacements and 88.3% of stand-by teachers. Women are relatively more numerous than men in "short-cycle" teaching (primary education) as against "long-cycle" teaching (secondary education). Finally, amongst staff teaching at intermediate and practical levels, the higher percentage of non-specialised staff constituted women, being respectively 61% and 72% (144).

The same phenomenon may be observed, generally speaking, in all sectors of work. In France, for example, in the public sector, females form more than 50% of the work force but they hold few posts of responsibility despite their skills. In 1973, they held only 5% of administrative appointments (72). In the private sector, women are usually in subordinate positions and those requiring little skill: 60.5% are operatives, 29% of them being unskilled (71). In Canada, the percentage of women at managerial and administrative level is only 3.7% (12). In Belgium, the rapid rise of a small number of women to managerial posts and the relegation of others to unskilled work is notable. According to an ILO survey, it would appear that women face similar difficulty in reaching posts of responsibility everywhere in the world, forming only a small proportion of management and senior executive staff (48).

In Latin America, it is difficult for a woman to work on a freelance basis or to hold down an important post. "A woman must be twice as good as a man or even more so. ..." (65). The situation is identical in Japan, where women must be clearly more competent than men to hold down the same jobs (132). In Bulgaria, the progress of women within the hierarchy seems to be more rapid, since between 1960 and 1973 the number of women appointed to managerial posts has increased by 259%, the number of female heads of department in public service and the ministries has increased by 41.7% and the number engaged on specialised work by 272%, yet even here, historical and psychological factors, the lack of training and negative attitudes by the public put many difficulties in the way of appointing women to important posts (92).

We would mention once again that equality of opportunity before the law does not necessarily guarantee this in fact, since the deep-rooted prejudices as to what a woman may be allowed to do remain solidly entrenched in public thinking. Elizabeth Reid feels that reform by itself is insufficient since "reform that is formulated within a context where woman have no power can only be limited in scope and even when woman in fact do have some power, there is a multitude of factors to make it a dead letter (the "impossibility" factor - the "woman as object" factor - the "condescension" factor - the "invisible woman" - and the like)" (107). Jacqueline Feldman puts forward an opinion along the same lines where she says, "it is not easy for a woman to be "boss". This is a role for which we have not been prepared and where we often run the risk of awkwardly imitating men, with too much weakness or too much rigidity. Once such a woman has accepted masculine standards, she will fail in applying them or will find herself at the receiving end of sarcastic comment from men and hostility from women; in fact, she too, is a victim of the system in which she has put her trust without noticing that the dice had been loaded" (61).

1.1.4. Earnings

As Evelyne Sullerot has shown in an article, it is difficult to make comparisons between female earnings and male earnings since calculations are sometimes based on net earnings and at other times on gross earnings; in some cases the basis is an hourly one, in others a weekly, monthly, or annual one; sometimes over-time and various bonuses are included, at other times they are not. In her article, she quotes the latest figures (1966) published by the EEC Statistical Office, which regularly undertakes standardised surveys on earnings. The figures show that, as far as blue and white collar workers are concerned, a feature of salary scales is a concentration of women at the lower end and a narrower range in the case of women's incomes. There are only two European countries - France and Italy - where the male vector at some stage coincides with that for women. As regards the banding of earnings according to skills. Moreover, the range of women's earnings according to skills shows little differential anywhere, so that it is difficult to understand what advantages women can derive from their capabilities; on the other hand, although the gap has narrowed considerably in many countries, in France, where it was rather less great, it has changed little (115).

The origin of these differences in earnings does not generally lie with differences in hourly rates, but as Elizabeth Reid stresses (107), the principle of equal pay for equal work is distorted by the fact that there is inequality of training opportunity at the start. This discrimination therefore derives from female status at vocational level. As we have seen, female labour is concentrated in down-graded sectors where pay is traditionally lower than in male sectors.

This phenomenon is confirmed by the fact that, on the one hand, where women figure prominently in a vocation, earnings fluctuate or fail to rise (64, 48); while, on the other hand, the wage gap with equal qualifications is less great in sectors of mixed activity than in sectors that are essentially female (88, 115).

A further factor affecting wage differences arises from the lower level of technical skills of the female work force and from the unsuitability of their training. It is a known fact that many girls holding school-leaving certificates in needlework end up as unskilled workers in electronics and electrical engineering, for example. Their training has given them the necessary skills for work of this kind, but owing to the malorientation of their certificate, they are considered to be unskilled workers, and are accordingly paid as such.

Lastly, women's shorter working week, combined with their lack of seniority within the firm, means that women are to some extent deprived of the bonuses and miscellaneous advantages given to men. On this question of bonuses, the Supreme Court of Buenos Aires has held that payment to men of additions to wages provided for in a collective agreement by way of recompense for work done does not encroach on the principle of equal pay and the decision lies with the employer (91). In Italy, a number of decisions have been obtained from the courts on the concept of output and it has been held that this arises only in the case of payments based on piece work and that, consequently, differences in rates based on time as between men and women can be justified only if the work is different (91).

Differences in rates of earnings will be found to some extent everywhere. An ILO survey (48) shows that in industrialised countries, the rate at which women are paid is about 50 to 80% than in the case of men for the same period of work.

In Canada (12), women occupying managerial positions receive salaries 107.4% lower than those of men; in office jobs, the annual income of men is 56.7% more than that of women; in the sales sector, men's incomes are more than 1½ times as great as those of women. In France, there has been a gap since 1968 of 33% to 35% between male and female earnings (71). In the United States, in the state of Michigan, investigations published at the beginning of 1974 indicate that holders of scientific doctorates are paid 1,600 dollars less than men in the age group below 30 and that this gap increases with time: at age 40, it is 4,300 dollars and at age 50, it is 6,200 dollars (112).

Even so, this distortion is perhaps the most flagrant in agriculture, at least in capitalist countries and in the developing countries, where women, even though engaged on productive work in nearly all cases, receive no wage at all and are economically totally dependent on the man. In China, on the contrary, women out in the country are paid individually for the work done.

This gap in earnings as between men and women is therefore a result of female status at vocational level, as we saw above, but it is also connected with the fact that men are always regarded as the head of the family and that, consequently, women's pay is no more than an addition. This concept of head of the family given to the man similarly leads to disparities with regard to welfare benefits.

1.1.5. Welfare benefits

Inequalities with regard to receipt of benefits seems to exist in many countries, as an investigation by the EEC Commission shows (26).

In many countries, the amount of retirement pension is proportional to the number of full years of service and to earnings received. Compared with men, many women are therefore in a disadvantageous position due to the so frequent interruptions in their careers for domestic reasons and to the nature of their work, which is often less well paid. In some cases, women are either not included in private schemes or receive lower pensions than men.

As regards widows pensions, it is normal for the widow to receive that part of the husband's pension due to her, but the reverse does not seem to apply. To refuse widowers rights to a pension to which their wives have contributed throughout their lives is a form of discrimination. A similar situation arises in Canada, where the reversionary pension is in each case less generous in the case of female contributors than in that of male contributors (12).

With regard to welfare benefits, payment of these is generally linked to the concept of "pater familias". Consequently, benefit payable to a man in the case of sickness or incapacity may increase in proportion to the number of persons dependent on him without this applying to women supporting a family. What is more, although a woman may receive better social guarantees as the result of her working, it is nevertheless the husband to which the benefit is paid.

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Unemployment benefit is similarly the source of much discrimination. The concept of "pater familias" may affect the composition and duration of such benefit. Consequently, there is a chance of the unemployment benefit payable to the mother of a family being less than that paid to the father, since the latter receives a supplement for dependents.

Under certain schemes, a married woman laid off due to staff reductions is not entitled to unemployment benefit if her husband works.

Since the level of allowances is always related to that of pay, it follows that the dependents of a working woman are likely to lose from the fact that her earnings are lower.

This quick Cook's tour of women's status in relation to their vocational life shows how much they lose out when competing for jobs, promotion, and financial advantage. While the indispensable contribution made by female labour to national economies is acknowledged and while women may even at times be induced to participate actively in it, the work given to women - at least in developed and developing capitalist countries - all too often remains "secondary zone work", at the mercy of needs for expansion and of recession. Only rarely as yet do women have the opportunity to offer society the full benefit of the capabilities and promise with which they are endowed through their vocational tasks, since they are neither asked to make use of them nor paid accordingly when they do.

1.2. Working conditions

Women's working conditions are often subject to special measures and have often been obtained as a result of trade union action, but quite frequently accepted by employers only insofar as they enable women's work to be kept to a minor and precarious level, and thereby forming an argument against equality of employment, of pay or promotion.

Consequently, the attitude of trade unions and of women themselves towards such discriminatory measures is relatively ambiguous, since these can quite easily be turned against those whom they are intended to benefit, under the guise of protecting them.

One relatively frequent protective measure is that concerning the prohibition of night work, which has an important effect on women's employment opportunities, insofar as this prohibition may be cited as limiting working on a team basis. It is nonetheless worth noting that this question has never been raised with regard to nurses, a female calling par excellence, where night work occupies an important position. This prohibition is at present under discussion as the result of the demand for a review of the ILO's international conventions. For their part, wage-earners' trades unions are suggesting that the prohibition of night work should be extended to all workers. Come what may, night work seems to be undesirable as regards workers' health whether they be of the one sex or the other and there is no scientific data to prove that it is more harmful to the health of women than to that of men.

There is also legislation closing certain kinds of work to women because it is too heavy or likely to endanger their pro-creative function.

But the particular stresses and risks to which workers carrying out "heavy" work of this kind are exposed are inherent in the labour process itself and could be as harmful to a worker of the one sex as to one of the other, which gives rise to the question whether this should not in fact be reserved to the male sex but the conditions under which it is carried out should be changed for everyone.

Little is known about the risks to women's procreative function that might arise from certain jobs. The results of investigations into the number of spontaneous miscarriages, the size of newly born children or subsequent effects on weight are not always entirely convincing since social-economic factors are added to vocational factors (44).

In certain countries, legislation may require an employer to make special provision when recruiting women, e.g. sanitary facilities, free transport, etc. It is quite clear that specific provisions of this kind aimed at women could be a reason for discrimination in this connection except where there is an obvious advantage in recruiting feminine labour.

Whatever special protection may be given to women by labour legislation, it is quite unusual for such protection to obtain working conditions for them that are really better than those for men, nor any which, for all that, are likely to facilitate the carrying out of domestic duties. We are faced with a special problem: should women be granted special working conditions as compared with men, though at the price of increased discrimination in productivity terms, or should greater equality with men's working conditions be aimed at?

It would seem that the present tendency is to fight against risks as such affecting all workers and to reject any protection aimed specifically at women. The trend towards equality implies renunciation as far as possible of any special provisions for women. Only women's biological functions could give rise to these. In this connection, such factors within the working environment come to mind as may provoke sterility in women or malformation of the embryo. In fact, the realisation is growing that men themselves may be exposed to similar dangers. For example, as the result of their effect on the testicles, micro waves can give rise to temporary sterility in men.

Similarly, modifications in the chromosome have been observed in the case of workers exposed to the action of lead and certain solvents (82). These problems therefore deserve every attention, while not forgetting that, although the function of gestation is specifically a female one, the function of procreation is shared between man and women.

1.3. The debate regarding "female" jobs and "women's" work

In defence of the sexual break-down of labour, the arguments raised are that each of the two sexes has specific psychological and intellectual characteristics. "It is said, consequently, that women are best fitted to work with children and the sick; that they are fitted for creative work in the arts where sensitivity plays an important part; that they are particularly capable of putting up with monotonous work that allows them to day-dream; and that they are meticulous and conscientious. Men, for their part, are made for heavy work; they are leaders by inclination and need greater independence in carrying out their

work - great and prestigious works are the prerogatives of men, builders of cathedrals and of hydro-electric dams". So writes Mona-Josée Gagnon (13), who continues, "it should be noted that this profile of male and female attributes varies considerably from country to country and from age to age. This fact is proof positive that what we are concerned with is social and not natural determination. The pseudo-aptitudes of men and women at work flow from the social role attributed to each sex. Accordingly, since it is held that education within the family is a matter for women, it is logically inferred that the teaching of young children is a woman's job. Since the husband is, in turn, regarded as the head of the family, the supreme authority, men are considered more capable of commanding and as being unfitted for non-active work. Even when physiological differences between men and women are called upon as proof, a good deal of wrong thinking arises whose origin still lies in pre-determined social roles.

Women are considered to be too frail for certain kinds of hard work, yet no one is outraged to see women wash floors or lifting up their 45-pound children, or to have female nurses man-handle helpless patients. The idea of women undertaking so-called "dirty" (i.e. mechanical and the like) work is distasteful since women have to conform to the traditional image of femininity, even at the price of losing a good income".

In the developing countries, while the status of the countrywoman is very important in the economic life of the nation, it varies sharply according to social-cultural norms. Consequently, in Islamic rural areas and in certain parts of Latin America where the influence of Spanish catholicism is strong, the woman's social importance outside the family is slight, while in other countries such as China, Guinea and Ghana, women are very active in trade and business.

The psychological and intellectual characteristics on which distinctions between male and female abilities are said to be based would therefore seem to be increasingly untenable, and simply the product of cultural factors.

This has been demonstrated by serious scientific research. In addition, one wonders why, now that technological progress has removed the heavier and more fatiguing aspects of certain jobs, they should still be closed to women? Linked to the latter point is the fact that as soon as a job is designated as "female" it is immediately down-graded as regards the pay and social standing it confers. Neither of these two phenomena has anything to do with aptitudes held to be innate in women. It is nevertheless quite clear that although women want a change in this situation, they must realise that this requires them to believe in their own abilities and to fight for the means to develop them. The literature published during International Women's Year underlines this fact time and again.

2. The arguments put for and against vocational work by women

At the beginning of this chapter, we noted the extent to which the question of a woman's right to vocational work away from her home gave rise to controversy and opposing attitudes, sometimes even to passionate lengths. Although, all in all, the literature published during International Women's

Year for the most part takes the side of those who want women to have access to real vocational advancement, the obstacles and objections that may be raised against this aim are defined, and indeed approved of, by a number of writers in several countries.

2.1. Those against

The chief argument of those who are opposed to women going out to work hinges about the notion of the woman's place being in the home where she can enjoy responsibility, independence and the exercise of heart and mind. When the mother stays at home, there is a welcome for all. By being there, she can render a host of services since neighbours can call on her help and her friendship (117). An article in: "Tâches Familiales" (the Journal of the Federation des Familles de France) puts forward the following arguments. For a woman, vocational work can be no more than a "substitute for happiness which, in the long run, leaves the heart dry and empty" since, a woman's "true joy lies in motherhood and everything flowing from it". If, in spite of all that, the woman works, she must "always regard her home as being her prime consideration and be ready, if need be, to sacrifice advancement in her career and, if necessary, to abandon it altogether" (116).

For those who uphold the mother's place in the home in this way, the role of motherhood is therefore of irreplaceable importance, sufficient to justify the whole of one's life. If the mother works outside, this leads to cumulation of activities and, consequently, over-burdening and loss of availability as regards the children and the husband.

This has inevitable repercussions on the family environment and loosens family ties and those between the couple themselves, the consequence frequently being divorce (116 and 117). Vocational work by women is therefore considered as likely to destroy the country materially and morally, all the more since, according to the opinion of a representative of the International Federation of the Homes of Europe (IUFO, International Conference on the Family), children would always suffer if the mother is absent from the family and such absence would lead young people into delinquency (127).

Another argument seeks its support in alleged attributes of women that tend to predispose them more to exercising a private role than a public or external one, and certain women feel that by not carrying out any vocational work, they can consequently turn to voluntary work of a social, cultural or political nature and thereby participate in the development of the country while at the same time maintaining contact with the outside world (101).

Marie-Thérèse Leger thinks that voluntary work may be a means towards the better distribution of wealth (51). Not all women, however, feel the same way about voluntary work. The President of the Associations Familiales et Sociales (France) feels that voluntary work for women is becoming increasingly unpopular since it brings with it no social recognition nor provides any guarantees for the future (IUFO 1975 International Conference).

A third argument adopted by those who have a certain dislike towards women working is demographically-based. There is a risk of this tendency increasing in countries where the birth rate has fluctuated widely if women were to abandon their traditional role on a massive scale.

It is also claimed that an increase in the female labour force would step up unemployment. This is stated by A. Delperée as "an extension of paid work for women would have serious consequences - in the short term - on demographic trends and on the financial balance of social security to advocate a vocational career for all adult women would, in Belgium, mean creating 500,000 new jobs, added to the tens of thousands of jobs already necessary to catch up male and female unemployment" (50). The writer of these words accordingly feels that, in Belgium, the trend would be to 300,000 unemployed, the majority of whom would be married women, and he then asks the question, "would the cost of benefit paid to mothers at home then fall on unemployment insurance?"

2.2. Those for

Examination of the arguments adopted by those for and against women doing vocational work reveals how much each of the two sides often comes down to defending view-points that are much more emotional than objective. Proof of this will be found in the fact that the same arguments are used on both sides, sometimes without any greater weight being given to the one point of view than to the other. For example, the demographic argument is adopted by partisans of the working woman. Accordingly, an article in *Ceres* 44 (28) states that the creation of women's jobs in developing countries would be a means of cutting the birth rate since, firstly, women would marry later, and, secondly, it has been proved that women holding down an outside job are less fertile. An investigation made in Chile (100) shows that a substantial number of children may force the mother to work in order to meet the family's needs; an article by René Dumont (53) shows that a major reduction in the birth rate was obtained in China through a high level of education and political motivation.

It would therefore seem that the problem of reducing the birth rate is linked far more tightly to raising the level of education and the economic level than to vocational work for women strictly speaking.

In the same way that those who are against women's vocational work draw on the argument of her educational role, we also see it taken up by those for. In fact, the opening to the outside world gained through vocational work enables the mother to fulfil her educational task and to do so intelligently. Several articles have stressed that a woman needs to exist as an individual in order to be a good educator (144) and to consider that training for women is a worthless investment due to the interruptions in her working life is to forget that a knowledgeable mother contributes towards raising the level of knowledge within the family (64, 88).

On the other hand, the reduction in infant mortality and birth control mean a reduction in the time spent by the woman on maternal activities; there is no reason therefore for excluding her from commercial life for that reason. Finally, her educational task can be carried out by proxy, either outside the home or within it, particularly by the father whose role is increasingly acknowledged as being very important to the psychological and emotional development of the child. The chapter devoted to "woman in the family" has dealt with these topics more fully. As stated in a report by the French

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Ministry of Labour (88), woman's vocational work may, moreover, eventually lead to a reduction in the overall length of working and consequently allow a better distribution of family tasks and more balanced family life. Vocational work by women, although it may question the distribution of roles in the bosom of the family, does not jeopardise the existence of the family itself.

Lastly, the educational role of the mother within the family may be taken over by community services.

Another development making it necessary for the woman to go out to work is the shift within the family from production to consumption, leading to a reduction in household chores and the need to increase income. Therefore, the wage brought home by the wife raises the standard of living in the home and allows improvements in the quality of life, particularly where the woman may be alone, deserted, divorced or widowed, but even when she lives with her spouse.

Women's vocational work seems necessary not only with regard to the home but also with regard to society. However, indispensable her productive capacity may be, a woman's contribution to the nation's scientific and technological base, to the organisation of society, and to social development is equally so. According to the report by the French Ministry of Labour already quoted (88), women's vocational work allows an increase in production and, consequently, in GNP, growth in the consumer capacity of households, and a rise in national financial and social resources through a better distribution of the welfare burden. This thinking is shared by Eliane Vogel (150) who feels that to regard women's working as a phenomenon whose progress must be checked is to add heavily to the burden on the working population by increasing the crushing load placed by the pyramid of the inactive on the active.

While the latter point is held by partisans of vocational work for women to be indispensable to the favourable evolution of the family and of society, it is equally regarded as the solid base indispensable for any real female emancipation. It allows the woman to see herself as a person, to develop all her faculties and to reach out to the outside world and maintain her social contacts.

Only economic independence and participation in an overall scheme of social activity obtained through outside work can enable women to achieve their own identity and to play the essential role which is theirs in creating a more just and a more open society. The continued insistence of developing countries on the need for women to contribute towards economic and social growth through vocational work within the framework of the local situation is based on such arguments.

3. Trial Measures and Methods Adopted or Contemplated

Having regard to the increased risk of conflict between vocational duties and family duties or perhaps through a realisation of the difficulties women might have to face or, again, in order to encourage vocational work or relief

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from it during the years of motherhood, many governments have instituted or suggested a number of measures and certain private organisations have taken initiatives all of which are aimed at seeking appropriate solutions to these problems.

3.1. Removal of discrimination at work between men and women

A number of legislative steps have been taken or are in hand to prohibit any discrimination by sex. In Quebec (13), a bill is before the legislature to prevent:

- classification of jobs by sex and the labelling of jobs with an indication of the holder's sex,
- the advertisement of jobs with mandatory specification of sex,
- selection on recruitment, promotion, and vocational training with sex as a criterion.

In Canada as a whole, the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the position of women in Canada have to a large extent been implemented by the provinces along varying lines (86). The recommendations include the following, amongst others:

- a) That the concepts of competence, effort and responsibility be adopted as objective criteria to determine what constitutes equal work, while ensuring that earnings thus determined shall take account of such factors as seniority.
- b) That any employees who consider themselves harmed by an alleged breach of applicable law or that any party whose task it is to have such rights observed may refer the complaint to an agency set up for this purpose by the Government enacting the law,
- c) That an employee's situation should in no way be affected in a prejudicial manner by his recourse to the courts,
- d) That were a breach has occurred, the employee shall receive compensation for any loss of earnings, leave or welfare benefit,
- d) That the trades unions and employees associations shall be bound to observe these requirements in the same ways as employers and employer associations,
- f) That fines and other penalties should be sufficiently heavy so as effectively to prevent any breach and,
- g) That the terms of the law shall provide for these arrangements to apply both to persons working on a part-time basis and to those working full-time".

3.2. Enlarging the job range and job opportunities for women

In Europe, the Council of Europe in 1974 adopted a certain number of resolutions regarding women's work. The following may be quoted as an example.

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"Care must be taken that no school programmes or programmes of vocational training shall be set up on the basis of anachronistic concepts according to which jobs may be typically male and typically female...

Since technological progress and automation has reduced the need to rely on physical force as a source of energy and since, consequently, many skilled and technical occupations should henceforth become accessible to women, it is advisable to arrange them in such a way that women may be entrusted with technical work in relation to their skills...

With the view to developing the potential skills of the labour force, which is an important element in progressive jobs policy, and to meet the requirements of technical evolution, all workers irrespective of sex should benefit from the opportunities for re-cycling, enabling them to acquire skills that they may need in order to obtain or hold down a satisfactory position...

Generally speaking, women should have the benefit or the same opportunities and conditions of employment as men...

Free vocational guidance services should be made available to all women whether they are seeking work or whether they already have a job..." (44).

Other legislative measures aimed at encouraging aimed employers to recruit and train female labour have been introduced in certain countries. The Swedish National Committee for Employment has adopted two budgetary proposals for the tax year 1974 to 1975, as follows.

- An employer training women for 'male' jobs and vice versa will receive about 1 dollar an hour for a maximum of six months. This step has been taken as an exceptional measure for three years.

- A grant of the same order will be made if, when jobs are created in connection with the regional development projects, 40% are reserved for women and 40% for men. This step has been taken as an experimental measure for two years (48).

The Swedish Government has similarly adopted special measures to create jobs with regard to its public recruiting services in order to direct women into appropriate employment and has set up a Commission to obtain equal opportunity for men and women in public service (82).

The following are some examples of legislative measures intended to remove discrimination between men's work and women's work. There is a need for further measures in the field of general policy on women's employment.

For example, a report by the French Ministry of Labour (88), states that, at political level, it would be advisable to:

- prepare a new method for calculating the cost linked to the employment of women having regard both to the insufficient utilisation of skills and interruptions of working due to a lack of community facilities;

- integration of the working potential of women as a whole within the concept of full employment

In this way, a general desire can be seen to exist in the various countries whose recent publications we have analysed for better conditions and jobs opportunity for women, without other sexual discrimination than that relating to periods of active motherhood, the average duration of which is tending to reduce everywhere. Even where family tasks are given explicit priority, the paradox between the two roles does not seem fundamental and, in fact, their complementary aspects are stressed. It is particularly interesting to note that realisation that woman's vocational work should rank equally with that of men is not based solely on arguments of equity (equal work = equal pay) but also on a conviction that women may thereby achieve greater personal equilibrium and better social integration, and on a desire that the capabilities of women, hitherto largely under-developed and under-used in community life, should contribute to the progress and improvement of society of which women form part.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that any debate as to working women and, particularly, the conditions under which various kinds of work are carried on, must, once bereft of short-term protectionist attitudes, lead directly to the meaning and working conditions for men as well as women being called into question. The consequence is a determination that the struggle to humanise work, to re-endow it with direction and at the same time to make it compatible with other social roles that everyone, male and female, fulful within the family and the various institutions to which it belongs should be carried on without any discrimination of sex.

III. THE EDUCATION RECEIVED BY GIRLS AND BOYS

The couple, and the wife in particular, are free to choose effectively as to the course of family life only in so far as their choice is not pre-determined or obstructed by existing stereotypes or, even more so, by certain avenues where the wife's capabilities might flourish being closed to her a priori. Of course, this problem conceals a number of more or less hazardous hypotheses regarding male and female qualities that we have already referred to and which in past years have been the subject of many contradictions, particularly by psychologists and ethnologists. However, discrimination with regard to education and teaching, which still continues to operate covertly even though the progressive legislation which condemns it, directly determines the future that girls may look to, even if only by orientating and, particularly, restricting their ambitions.

It is hardly surprising, therefore that International Women's Year should have been the occasion for discussing and comparing the efforts made in various countries to set up sexually non-segregated educational systems that would not disadvantage girls as to either quantity or quality.

The prime query relates to the actual basis for such discrimination as may arise, i.e. the myths underlying current educational models in various countries, myths that appear to be relatively similar in each of them, though their intensity and application may differ.

1. Myths in education

These myths may be found in education at every level, whether this be informal upbringing, school education or vocational training.

1.1. Informal upbringing

Here we enter on a domain of confused ideas and principles. Since they generally are not formally stated, they are consequently all the more difficult to question. Lucia Tosi (119) has written as follows on this. "Socialisation of the individual is the process whereby he is encouraged to imitate certain stereotypes suggested to him.

The agents in this process are the family, the school and society as a whole. As against the male ideal of independence, aggressiveness, competitiveness, forethought, a taste for innovation and mastery of the emotions, femininity is held to imply passivity, a lack of aggressiveness, dependence, the absence of competitiveness, denial, emotiveness, intuition and receptivity. It is implicitly accepted that these traits are pre-determined at biological level but in fact, the educational system encourages them if they conform to pattern and represses them if they do not. All children, boys and girls, normally depend on adults for their physical well-being and self-realisation. While such a state of dependence is considered as natural for girls, the tendency is to regard it as a "feminine" trait in the case of boys, from which they must be freed. A boy "learns" his maleness while a small girl will often reach puberty remaining entirely "feminine", i.e. dependent without in any

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way being taught to fend for herself. This characteristic is considered as one of her natural attributes. A girl will therefore begin to develop independent attitudes and seek for an identity much later. If she does so earlier, she will invariably meet up with opposition.

On the other hand, aggressiveness seems up to a point to be a trait linked to a certain masculine genetic feature. However, while it may be permitted or indeed encouraged in the case of boys, the aim is to induce passivity and dependence in the case of girls. Such differences, whether innate or not, are amplified in the process of socialisation".

The analysis by Lucia Tosi referred to above may be found amongst many writers. Yvonne Knibiehler (76), for example, describes the observations made in Italy by Elena Gianini Belotti who runs an institution preparing future mothers for their educational role and with regard to the personality of the child and which offers courses for instructors on motherhood. In this way, she has arrived at a number of findings. She shows that while, generally speaking, very small children are expected to come up to the expectations of parents and teachers, this constraint is all the heavier in the case of girls than of boys since girls are expected to be submissive. She finds that even before birth, the indicators which according to popular belief allow the baby's sex to be predicted are all "masculine and feminine sexual stereotypes as symbolised in our culture".

"Since boys are expected to be lively and more energetic than girls, who conversely have to be quiet and passive, movements of the foetus are interpreted on those lines. It is true that there is a correlation and a continuity between the liveliness of the foetus and that of the new-born but it is nonetheless also true that there are foetuses that turn into very unresponsive new-born males and very active new-born females".

Once the child is born, Elena Gianini Belotti has observed that the image of the attitudes that are considered to correspond with the child's sex will lead its parents and teachers to make it assume constraints so that it will acquire "normal" behaviour which in due course will be regarded as "natural"; it is therefore felt that "greed is a characteristic of small boys while the fact is that there are new-born babies who are greedy and others who are not". However, greed is far less tolerated amongst small girls; the animal desire, unbridled delight and evident sensuality with which a child will attach itself to the breast or teat are considered normal in the case of boys, as proof of his aggressiveness and "natural" sensuality, while girls are expected to be less attached to earthy pleasures and to have far more "ethereal" physical appetites. While nothing is done to moderate the impulsiveness of a boy at the breast, a girl who sucks with excessive greed is interrupted and the breast is refused to her until she approaches it and takes it with "entirely feminine grace". "Greed does not go with grace".

Of course, boys will be trained as well as girls, but the training for the latter is far more severe since they are not allowed to misbehave, while in the case of boys this is a sign of character.

Catherine Chilman(21), finds that this greater dependence on the part of women, which will also be found to exist in their sexual relationships,

arises from many causes rooted in their education. She feels that men's emotional and sexual dependence on women is just as important as that of women on men, but that it is the more strongly repressed by education. In fact, she considers that by ejaculating the man becomes dependent on the woman; he needs her to become a father and leaves part of himself with her, which may perhaps explain his rapid withdrawal, both physically and psychologically. She finds that the double nature of sexuality, which includes characteristics of dependence on the part of both the man and the woman, appears in the attraction exercised by the female breast in sexual relations - with it, the woman has the experience of feeding but the man that of the infantile pleasure of dependence on his mother. She concludes by stating that the present trend, which is towards women acquiring dependence outside the family and for the man to take a greater share in domestic tasks will perhaps mean that the need for dependence will be mutually recognised and accepted.

These differing expectations as regards the two sexes is not solely expressed in their behaviour and emotions but also in their intellectual capabilities. It is customary to say that boys are more gifted for mathematics and science than girls. Lucia Tosi (119), however, states that "the only significant difference so far discovered between men and women is improved "spacial awareness" on the part of the former. This spacial aptitude can be measured by the capacity to abstract certain geometrical figures from a context and seems to be linked on certain sex-dependent genetical factors. It has, however, been impossible so far to demonstrate conclusively to what extent such aptitude is necessary for certain kinds of intellectual reasoning, of the kind as may be used in mathematics, for example". Conversely, investigation has shown that owing to the education they are given, boys do better than girls with regard to the development of logical reasoning.

In interviews with parents of children exceptionally gifted in maths and science, H.Astin, as reported by Shapley (112), has shown that boys receive greater stimulation than girls do. Boys are offered literature, puzzles, scientific apparatus, but girls are not. What is more, out of every ten parent couples who make provision for university education for boys, only one parent couple makes such provision for girls (112). An ILO investigation covering the whole world has indicated that the higher the level of education, the greater the involvement of women in economic activities, with or without brief interruptions to raise children (48). Lastly, it is as an acknowledged fact that when doing their homework, girls are interrupted far more frequently than boys to assist with family domestic chores.

These different expectations with regard to boys and girls, these stereotypes, are part and parcel not only of education within the family but also in education at school.

1.2. Education at school

The image of stereotyped male and female roles will be found at various levels in education at school, in school text books which present a specific image of male and female roles, in the behaviour expected of boys of girls

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by teachers, and, consequently, in the type of relationship entered into between the teacher and the pupil.

1.2.1. Stereotypes transmitted by school text books

As regards stereotypes transmitted by school text books, a systematic analysis of the role of men and women as presented in 225 of the text books used in Quebec schools carried out by the Council on the Status of Women and reported in an article by Lise Dunnigan (15) provides interesting information. She says, "it is impossible to maintain that these books contain only academic knowledge and do not convey values. In fact, they nearly all contain passages, particularly at elementary level, where the author brings in a number of personages, either as a reading exercise or to concretise 'a problem', or to make a lesson in hygiene more vivid. Such personages are taught to reflect the world about the child, normal people, and normal situations, but in actual fact they offer a highly standardised view of society, the family and of the sexes".

The way in which personages are distributed according to their sex and the level of the text books breaks down as follows:

	WOMEN	GIRLS	TOTAL	MEN	BOYS	TOTAL
Elementary	10%	26%	36%	29%	35%	64%
Secondary	10%	12%	22%	51%	27%	78%
Total	20%	38%		80%	62%	

This table speaks for itself and shows to what extent school text books allow masculine roles in society to predominate. As regards the distribution of chief personages in texts and illustrations, the following results have been obtained:

WOMEN	GIRLS	TOTAL	MEN	BOYS	TOTAL
9%	18%	27%	41%	32%	73%

Consequently, not only do male roles predominate but a vast majority of the leading roles are taken by men.

As regards identity, men are chiefly defined by their vocational occupations.

Women are defined by their occupation as mothers but chiefly by their function within the household, in the kitchen where they see to meals and domestic chores. She is least frequently seen in an educational role and the father appears most often as the teacher, counsellor and admonisher. Only 9.6% of men have children while women are mothers in 37.3% of the cases.

Mothers, for their part, are chiefly concerned with meals, clothes and the material and emotional well-being of the children. They are evidently little skilled to teach them anything at all.

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Further in these text books, women hold down only 9% of jobs while in Quebec, they represent one third of the active work force. Among the vocational activities carried on, 20% of women will, for example, be found to be teachers (6.7% in all Canada), 61% of teachers are male (in Quebec, 34% of teachers are male and 66% are female), no women at all occupying the executive posts (30% in all Canada in 1970).

The text books also from time to time refer to historical or living figures. Here, again, strict censorship is maintained on women who have played an active role and who have accomplished remarkable things despite the imposing obstacles inherent in their female condition. Consequently in all the text books examined at elementary level (except for history books), 303 names are quoted of men who are more or less famous in politics, the arts, the sciences and other fields. However, only 16 women's names appear, including 7 in one book (religion, sixth form). Generally speaking, little is said about any of them, as in the case of Marguerite Bourgeois, one of the great figures of the colonial period and the beginnings of education in Quebec, who is hardly mentioned. Many others are mentioned only by reference to their husbands or sons.

This analysis proves the extent to which school text books instil stereotypes into children and young people regarding their future role as adults and sometimes strengthening these as against real life, and to which women's tasks within the family are presented as their chief consideration, their vocational tasks being largely subordinate. Lise Dunnigan mentions that many studies undertaken in the United States reflect similar lines of thought. The National Organisation for Women, for example, carried out a two-year survey in the States into stereotypes in school text books. The salient point in their report is that these books are for the most part centred on male personages in proportions of 5 to 2 in the case of children and 3 to 1 in the case of adults. Biographies of famous persons deal with men five times out of six.

An investigation carried out in 1972 by the Teachers Federation of British Columbia shows that, "girls... are faced with the suggestion that their sex can fulfil only one possible role, that of mother and wife. ... Women are shown as dependent beings, passive, timid, and without imagination or intelligence".

In Saskatchewan, the Commission on the Rights of Man in 1972 published two reports entitled "Sex Bias in Primary Readers" and "Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks". The first indicates that "female personalities are relatively insignificant, they are given more negative references and their range of jobs is particularly distorted. An overall view of reading books immediately shows that women are shown as inferior beings in all respects". The second notes that in history books, "all the women are described in terms of their physical attractions, which constitute their only important feature..., women's role tends to be ignored and the history of their struggles to obtain equal rights is completely passed by in silence".

If investigations of this kind were to be carried out in other countries, similar results would be obtained in most cases.

It is therefore understandable that, for most young girls, the prospect of future domestic functions tends to obliterate the part that they could play

in vocational or civic fields and that, consequently, they show preference for short-period non-specific training and are afraid of embarking on technological studies lest they remain unemployed. This choice by young girls is very frequently emphasised by school and vocational orientation.

1.2.2. Stereotypes transmitted by school and vocational orientation

Girls are in fact more easily oriented towards general and traditional training even though they form the backbone of the labour force in the electro-mechanical sector (10) and though it has been proved, in France for example, that married women with a vocational diploma (CAP or BT) * go out to work more frequently than those who have only a general diploma (BEPC or BAC) ** (88).

The Quebec survey already referred to shows how much orientation at school continues to transmit prejudice as to vocational openings for women. In fact, careers guidance literature for elementary schools is issued in two versions - one for girls in which 75 jobs are described and one for boys in which 122 are listed, only 38 of the jobs being included in both versions. Further, the various kinds of job offered are highly revealing. For example, in the booklet for girls, the vocation of dental assistant will be found, but that of dentist in the boys' booklet; the jobs of laboratory technician or receptionist are suggested for girls and those of research assistant or office manager to boys.

Discrimination in jobs of this kind is also to be found in France. A representative of the Federation des Familles de France (58) writes as follows. "The educational stereotype of female jobs. I personally know of young girls who would have chosen "quasi-male jobs" and who were re-graded as soon as they entered technical training college, and directed towards dress-making, secretarial work, and the like". The same problem exists in developing countries where modern agricultural and stock-breeding techniques are not taught to girls even though, most of the time, cultivation and stockbreeding are seen to by women.

The investigation carried out in the State of Quebec reveals that the means of selection and guidance are similarly based on myth. "Occupational interest tests used by careers guidance counsellors are themselves discriminatory. The test most commonly used in Quebec is the Kuder, in which boys' replies are interpreted in relation to 77 occupations and those of girls only in relation to 29 occupations. Another test widely used is the Strong Vocational Interest Survey where the examinee must choose repeatedly between various kinds of activity or prospects for the future.

Boys have to choose between, "space traveller" and "ocean-bed explorer"; girls choose between "reading a fashion magazine or a household journal", or between "being the wife of a ranch owner or of a corporation president". This test was condemned in 1972 by the American Personnel and Guidance Association because of its discriminatory structure. But the new version is not yet in use in Quebec and, besides, all the other tests of this kind have an interpretation key that differs according to sex".

* Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle or Baccalaureat de Technicien
(vocational school leaving certificate or university entrance certificate)

** Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle or Baccalaureat
(higher school leaving certificate or university entrance certificate)

Whatever the mechanisms adopted by the educational system and even where there may be apparent homogeneity in the channels of teaching and access to them by the two sexes, it is still clear that personal orientation towards a "possible" future is still deeply anchored as from childhood in images and suggestions, and that such future is presented as being exciting and accessible in quite a different way for girls as for boys; girls have their horizons limited at an early date as regards possible participation in community life and their situation of dependence and inferiority emphasised by the vocational choices that are considered as "possible". Moreover, one may also wonder as to the pertinence of the images presented to boys, particularly with regard to the choice of career, family life and participation in civic affairs. Be that as it may, discrimination is imprinted early on in young minds.

1.2.3. Stereotypes in the teacher-pupil relationship

E.G. Belotti (76) says, "in reply to direct questions as to the behavioural differences between boys and girls, women teachers agree in admitting that they exist and are well defined, and all repeat the same thing: boys are....., girls are (appropriate adjectives being inserted in each case). The speed with which they list the faults and qualities of boys and girls reveals that it is customary to classify children according to their sex and that discriminatory behaviour is therefore deeply ingrained. The correct reply, if one were free of prejudice or were to try to rid oneself of it, would be to break the group down into the more aggressive, the more orderly, the more dependent, etc., without any reference to sex, since there are small girls who are more aggressive than certain small boys and boys who are more orderly than certain small girls. Yet, through conditioning to these sexual stereotypes, the latter become exceptions, "deviants"".

Other investigations bring up similar facts. Lise Dunnigan (15) shows a difference in relationship according to whether the pupil is male or female. Expectations, personal requirement and reactions to behaviour are more or less consciously influenced by received thinking as to differences between the sexes. A survey carried out in New York into the expectations of teachers shows that most of them differentiate ideal pupil behaviour according to sex. They want boys to be independent and self-assured and girls to be amenable, dependent and sensitive. In reply to a question relating to "a brilliant pupil with a feeling for maths and science", a good many confirmed that they would encourage a boy to develop such aptitudes but would advise a girl to diversify her interests.

Given the direct impact that teacher expectations have on pupil performance, the existence of which was revealed by the research undertaken by the Rosenthals and which it has become usual to call the "Pygmalion effect", it is not unlikely that the lower success rate of girls in scientific disciplines are the result of this.

Lucia Tosi's analysis into scientific creativity in women produce the same findings (119). She considers that the reason by women tend eventually not to compete with men on an intellectual level in order to appear more attractive to them is that amenable and dependent behaviour is expected of girls and any early signs of independence on their part are normally frowned

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upon. In fact, although at the beginning of school life, girls are more successful than boys, this is due to the school being a conformist environment and girls therefore being rewarded, as they are away from school, for being tidy, amenable, calm and obedient to instructions. On the other hand, boys are from the start faced with a conflict of values since the characteristics expected of a school-boy are different from those expected of him away from school (initiative, independence, etc.); consequently, their success in the classroom does not match that of girls until secondary level. At secondary level, a different system of values is gradually established and intellectual boldness, new ideas, original thinking and ability to defend one's convictions become the criteria of assessment. Here, the girl experiences conflict since her submissiveness and conformism are no longer rewarded as in the past (15 and 119).

Teachers can also pass on or favour discriminatory attitudes more obviously by separating the sexes for certain activities - domestic science or needlework for the girls, woodwork for boys, by leaving classroom housekeeping entirely to the girls, by holding up boys to ridicule when their results are poorer than those of girls (while the opposite rarely occurs), and by punishing a boy by making him do "girl's work".

In this way, all these stereotypes passed on through the educational system both within the family and at school inevitably lead to a de facto situation where schooling, success and vocational training for girls is quite different from that for boys and this occurs even if no discrimination seems to exist at legislative level.

2. The position of girls and boys with regard to schooling and vocational training

In most countries, the position will be found to be as follows (131):

- The level of education and training for girls is lower than that for boys;
- girls leave school earlier than do boys;
- discrimination often arises as to the nature and content of education;
- the choice of field of studies is governed by stereotypes of the role of men and women;
- where parents must choose, they give priority to the education of boys.

2.1. The distribution of girls and boys over the various sectors of training and schooling

The above breaks down as follows in certain countries and in certain fields.

Belgium (108)

The distribution with regard to advanced technical training in 1972 to 1973 was as follows:

	BOYS	GIRLS
- Stage 1 (general degrees)	5,107	7,475
- Stage 2 (engineers, technologists and architects)	4,003	286
- Stage 3 (honours degrees)	2,321	1,173
	11,431	8,934

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Bulgaria (5)

For the 1974-75 academic year, the percentage of women in relation to the total number of pupils and students was as follows:

- Grammar schools	50.2%
- Commercial and technical colleges (secondary)	40.3%
- Technician-training and arts schools (secondary)	45.1%
- Senior secondary establishments	78.0%
- Establishments of tertiary education	53.6%

Amongst diplomates, women formed:

- 29%	of engineers
- 44.6%	of physicians
- 40%	of architects
- 64.1%	of teachers
- 36.5%	of economists

Cuba (55)

The percentage of girls amongst all students was as follows:

- Primary education:	50%
- Secondary education:	56%
- Tertiary education:	43%, of whome:
	48.9% in science
	18.4% in technology
	27.3% in agriculture
	38.9% in economics
	45.2% in medicine.

France (71)

Training:	BOYS	GIRLS
C.A.P. (Higher School Leaving Certificate)	59%	41%
B.T. (Technical University Entry)	46%	54%
Traditional university entry	45%	55%
B.T.S. (Higher Technical Certificate)	58%	42%
University education	59%	41%
- C.A.P.		
Metal casting, boiler making, metal construction work	15,363	2
General mechanics	55,788	18
Electrical and electro-mechanical engineering	18,664	14
Electronics	2,946	156
Secretarial work - shorthand-typing	266	32,093
Trade and distribution	5,524	30,676
Health and social service	1,584	4,482

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Mali (108)

BOYS

GIRLS

The break-down for 1971-73 was as follows:

Primary education: Stage 1	77,407	139,663
Stage 2	6,604	20,212
Higher education:		
National administrative college	409	79
Higher teacher-training college	28	2
Medical school	90	22

The Netherlands (46)

The age at which studies were interrupted:

- Age 16	4	35
- Age 18	75	35

Leaving after the initial stage of vocational training:

- 52% of girls did not go on to further vocational training; 7.5% took part-time courses. On the other hand, 15% of boys did not go on to any further vocational training but 62% continued on part-time further education.

Canada (State of Quebec) (47)

In 1979, certificates were awarded on the following basis.

- College-based education, vocational fields

	MEN	WOMEN
Biology	8.58%	91.42%
Physics	85.30%	14.70%
Human sciences	36%	64%
Administration	82.69%	17.31%
Secretarial work	0	100%
Dress-making	0	100%

University degrees awarded:

General	59.73%	40.25%
Honours	78.46%	21.54%
Second degrees	88.07%	11.93%
total	61.98%	38.02%

East Germany (79)

In 1971, the percentage of women on vocational training schemes was as follows:

- Industry	42.4
- Building	10.6
- Craft work	20.2
- Agricultural and forestry economics	44.2
- Transport and telecommunications	35.5
- Commerce	84.3

- Other Production sectors	67.6
- Non-production sectors	86.5
Total	44.4

In 1971, 50.2% of students at technical colleges and 37.5% of students at polytechnics and universities were women.

Those who completed a course of vocational training break-down as follows:

	MEN	WOMEN
Age 18 to 20	88.3%	74.8%
Age 20 to 30	84.1%	78.2%
Age 30 to 35	80.8%	67%
Age 35 to 40	77%	48.4%

Sweden (111)

In 1974, 95% of students in the care sector (public health, medicine, children, etc.) were women. On the other hand, 99% of mechanics students were men.

Czechoslovakia (56)

In 1972-73, among the 15 to 39 age group, women represented:

- 56% of those who had completed secondary education
- 43% of those who had received education at tertiary level

Tunisia (118)

In 1974-75, the percentage of girls in the various levels of education were:

Primary:	38.6% (this percentage varies according to whether the regions are rural or urban)
Secondary:	31.4%, but very few girls in technical training (48 as against 10,764 boys), if administration and management economics are excluded, as these are directed mainly towards service activities. Women were strongly concentrated in the literary sectors, but, nonetheless, 30% of the mathematics and sciences sections were girls.
Tertiary:	Girls constituted 39% of students of language and literature, 17.6% of students in social sciences and commerce, and 12.5% of students in medicine.

U.S.S.R. (25 and 57)

In 1974,

In specialist secondary establishments, girls represented half the student body. They formed:

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40% of students in industrial studies, building, transport and telecommunications

85% of students in economics and law

88% of those in public health, physical training and sport

81% of those in teaching, arts and cinematography.

- In the technical colleges (vocational), one third of the student body was female.

- In tertiary education, half of the student body were girls; their percentages in the various sections was as follows:

40% in industrial studies, building, transport and telecommunications,

32% in agriculture

61% in economics and law

56% in public health, physical training and sport

68% in teaching, the arts and cinematography

The few examples given above clearly show that despite certain differences as between countries, girls continue to be concentrated in those sections traditionally regarded as "female" and hardly figure in sections aimed at careers in the production and science sectors.

It should, however, be noted that in certain categories, the gap between the female and the male student body is substantially smaller in the socialist countries; nonetheless, even in these countries, the percentage of girls in what are considered "feminine" departments (public health, teaching, language and literature) remains highly preponderant.

These examples also show that the level of schooling achieved by girls is lower everywhere to that of boys, even though the gap varies from one country to the next. In developing countries, this difference is also reflected in a lower rate of schooling for girls and, consequently, in a level of illiteracy far higher than that of boys.

It is therefore quite clear that, in practice, discrimination is rife, even though in the vast majority of countries educational opportunities are in theory equal for boys and girls. The influence of prejudice with regard to the aptitudes of girls and boys and to the training they receive is further in practice mirrored in programmes and budgets.

2.2. Programmes and budgets

A UNESCO report (24) shows that in nearly every country in the world, social-educational investment devoted to boys is greater than that devoted to girls and, moreover, it is common for certain courses to be reserved for boys and others for girls.

In Canada, for example, "school athletics programmes are, it seems, fashioned in such a way as to discourage female participation. The funds available for sport are often unequally distributed in schools, universities, associations and the provinces. Teacher training schools for women are

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virtually nonexistent" (125). The investigation made by Lise Dunnigan (15) also shows that girls and boys are separated for physical education, "which leaves the field open for the preparation of different programmes, which are not always of equivalent quality" and she continues by adding that it is quite easy to "discover enormous disparity in the quality of training, publicity, finance and support of all kinds which render physical education and sports programmes less interesting and certainly less satisfying for girls than for boys. Girls are considered as feeble beings to be over-protected rather than to be trained to master and develop their bodies, which would make them more well-balanced and give them greater self-confidence".

Such discrimination in physical education is also to be found in the United States. In New York, following a report on discrimination in schools, the NOW Educational Committee has declared "activities open to girls are generally less many, receive less funds, and suffer from a lack of premises, equipment and official support. Many schools have no intra-mural or extra-mural sporting activities for girls. Female instructors are unpaid or receive only a small percentage of what their male colleagues get" (15). In San Francisco, the female sports programme budget in secondary schools represented barely 6% of that spent on the boys' programme (15).

Physical education and sport are not the only activities that prove to be discriminatory with regard to girls and boys.

There are, in fact, courses reserved for each of the two sexes. In the Philippines, for example, while agricultural programmes are oriented only towards men, family planning is only oriented towards women (20).

This situation exists in many countries where during practical work or controlled activities, the girls are sent en bloc to domestic science or needlework classes and the boys to the metalwork or mechanical workshop.

Despite an educational trend that seems to be heading in the direction of mixed teaching in many countries, such disparities are still very frequent and show that, as Lise Dunnigan mentions, "it has been decided in the case of girls to emphasise their natural and undeniable vocation as housewife... at the same time, no one remembers to 'mention' to the boys that one day they too will have children". The future attitudes of young people of both sexes towards each other therefore proves to be highly impregnated with traditional images and out of touch with the realities of life as a result of their education at school. Besides, preparation of this kind for conjugal and family life of the kind most often reserved for girls appears generally to be very much fragmented. The traditional rudiments of cookery, needlework and housekeeping are taught without any preparation either for management and organisation of household tasks and budgets nor for the education of children, nor even for the problems of the sexual and emotional life of husband and wife. It is, further, symptomatic that in all the documents that we have examined, and the majority of which were published in connection with International Womens Year, hardly one of them touches on the subject of sexual education, whether at school or within the family.

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However, as regards budgets and programmes, we must say that the situation described above does not appear to apply, on the whole, to the socialist countries where school programmes seem to be far more frequently truly identical for both girls and boys. This seems to be the case in the U.S.S.R. (57) and China (67), but we have little information on the subject. Only Han Suyin tells us that in China, "since manual labour has become part of the education of everyone, boys and girls, men have begun to help their wives. But, to tell the truth, women's work continues to be harder than that for men" (67).

Lastly, it must nonetheless be noted that a certain number of countries have instituted measures to counteract the stereotypes transmitted by the school and the situations arising from them.

3. Some measures to counteract discrimination in education

These measures may involve either the search for total equality between the teaching given to girls and to boys or promoting specific action with regard to girls in order to enable them to catch up with the boys.

The greatest insistence on the need to develop schooling for girls seems to occur in developing countries. René Dumont (53) indicates that agricultural education in these countries is essentially reserved for men who take it up with the intention not of becoming agriculturalists but bureaucrats.

He considers it necessary that agricultural education should first be reserved for women and that preference should be given to teaching women the three Rs so that they can learn to prepare food without losing its nutritive value. In many developing countries, training programmes are being evolved intended for women who will in turn become teachers of hygiene, child care, dietetics, agricultural techniques and stock breeding (103). In the Yemen (55) the programme of the national committee for International Womens Year has included the setting up of a training scheme on lorry and tractor driving and apprenticeships in the various technologies (motor car maintenance and driving, lathe operating, joinery, radio and TV mechanics, refrigeration, carpentry, etc.).

In industrialised nations, educational opportunity is in theory the same for boys and girls, though we have seen to what extent prejudice and habit in actual fact restrict schooling for girls; action is therefore indispensable to help the latter. For this reason, full mixed education has been installed or demanded in the majority of countries, as the first step towards the elimination of discrimination and to accustoming children of both sexes to working together on the same tasks.

In the United States, for example, full mixed education has been achieved for children in the 4-12 age group. This also applies to extended primary education (supplementary courses). Further, a start has been made with integrating housekeeping, home economics and basic technology into the two first years at school. Some attention has also been paid to preparation for family life in the syllabuses of secondary schools and training colleges.

In Sweden, a number of measures have been instituted. All education is mixed, whether the subject be science, dressmaking or metal work. Special steps have been taken to recruit a number of men as teachers in motherhood schools and childrens books showing men and women engaged on tasks associated with their traditional sexual roles have been rectified; an effort is in fact being made to show men and women in all kinds of occupations traditionally reserved to the other sex. Despite this, developments are very slow in coming and discrimination still continues (150).

Other action has been taken to counteract stereotyping. In the United Kingdom, the government in 1974 through the Department of Employment published a series of brochures in a collection entitled "Women and Jobs". These brochures deal with the various problems, with strict scientific detachment, encountered by women at work and in their daily lives (150).

Discrimination at school level seems to be continued during vocational training. In fact, on-the-job training for women is extremely rare and the organisation of adult training but rarely takes account of the family needs and responsibilities of women. Even in countries where such training is open to women, few take the advantage. In France, for example, where the Act of 16 July 1971 has instituted regular training for both men and women it is evident, three years later, that only 6% of the beneficiaries are women (71).

This is why, as regards vocational training for women, in many countries, special training programmes for women seeking employment have been called for so as to mitigate the inadequacies of their training.

In this connection, provision must be made for women's greater lack of mobility. In the U.S.S.R., for example, vocational training courses are organised directly at the place of work. In this way, women can take special courses in the organisation to learn a new trade within six months without interrupting their work (113).

Similarly, in East Germany (77), special help is available for women carrying on a job. Special classes have been set up for them where they can pursue courses to become leading technicians or economists. They can also attend courses for two days a week without any reduction in wages or go on a full-time training course, keeping 80% of their net wage.

In Denmark, pre-training sessions have been organised by local employment agencies. These vocational guidance courses last two weeks and cover general employment problems. The course leaders are specialists in economic and legal matters but working women also take part and give an account of their life and experience at work. Students on the courses visit factories and other work places. No course allowance is paid, but all travelling expenses are refunded and creches are organised for children (150).

It would therefore appear that in view of the existing position and the efforts that are being made, the conclusions of the Committee on Work for Women at the IUFO Conference in Paris in August 1975 are fully substantiated.

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"This disparity between women's innate and available capacity and their actual powers in vocational life and politics arises from the scale of values of the society in which they live and from the process of socialisation to which such society, represented initially by the parents, has subjected them. If "full integration of the woman into the overall effort of economic, social and cultural development" (UN) is to be obtained, we must start at the bottom, i.e. by educating the children". Elizabeth Reid (107), for her part, can see no true solution other than that of "encouraging non-sexist education".

It would be no more than wishful thinking to abide by non-discrimination on paper, believing that it will come about in actual fact. Although his stage is quite indispensable as an official and institutional base for any move towards equality of opportunity between boys and girls, what is really needed is a cultural change. The example of those countries that have taken the first steps, show that this is no easy task, the concept of the overall inferiority and incapability of women being imprinted in the public mind.

However, all those who are concerned about the harmonious development of their countries insist on the need for women to contribute in all sectors of national life and on the full benefit being drawn from the qualities and capabilities of "the better half". They can play an effective part only if the way in which girls are prepared for adult life, in cooperation with boys, allows their abilities to blossom with the community.

4. WOMAN, THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

1. Woman and society

In the preceding chapters we have seen to what extent the traditional image of woman's role is imprinted on the public mind. More often than not, women are still considered to be exclusively "the keepers of moral values" in the family and the role expected of them in most cases is the fulfilment of household and educational duties within the family. This concept of women's role is in all cases supported by education but also by many other factors - organisation and structure, the working environment, the inefficiency of family services, the role of the mass media, etc. The result is that, at working level, the social involvement of women is slight. In fact, they are hardly integrated into the productive system on the one hand and, on the other, the roles entrusted to them are generally inferior. They take little part in governing institutions or in decision-making, whatever the sector of work concerned. This situation is paralleled by a general lack of female participation in politics and social work. "A woman party member is an exception; a woman in Parliament is a surprise; a woman in the Government is an achievement; a woman head of Government or head of State is a prodigy. About 150 states make up this planet. In recent years, only 4 (Sri Lanka, India, Israel and the Central African Republic) have, or have had, a woman as their Prime Minister. Only one, the Argentine, has had a woman elected as head of State", says R.G.Schwartzenberg (76).

We shall first of all try and see to what extent women effectively participate in the various political, trades unions and government organisations in certain countries.

1.1. Effective participation by women in the various political bodies

Africa

A UN document (35) shows that little research has been undertaken into the number of women participating in public life and politics. Legally they are entitled to do so, but, in fact, they are still the exception. For example,

- in Zambia, there are three women ministers and one woman ambassador
- in Guinea, 27% of the membership of the National Assembly and 16% of that of the Regional Assemblies is female.

Belgium (74)

Out of 390 members of Parliament, 26 are women.

Bulgaria (4 and 5)

The following statistics are available, showing the proportion of women in the various organs of the party and in government.

National Assembly: 20%

Council of State: 3 women out of 15 members

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Government: 1 woman minister and 6 women deputy ministers
Members of the Bulgarian Communist Party: 27.2%
Members of Trades Unions: 41.9%
Members of the Patriotic Front: 50.5%
Finally, 21.9% of the leadership in the various sectors of the national economy are women.

China (75)

One third of the chairman of the various assemblies at all levels are women, including that of the National Assembly Standing Committee, which is the true centre of decision-making. But women ministers are rare, though there are several women deputy ministers (45).

France (75)

Since 1971, the proportion of women

in the Municipal Councils has been	4.49%
amongst mayors has been	1.89%
in the general councils has been	2.9%
in the regional councils has been	1.6%
in the National Assembly has been less than	2%.

Amongst the political parties, women constitute 27% of the Communist party membership, 25% of the Democratic Centre Party membership, 25% of the Socialist Party membership and 10 to 20% of the membership of other parties.

United Kingdom

In the House of Commons, 25 seats out of 635 are held by women (74).

Italy

Out of 900 members of Parliament, 30 are women (74).

The Netherlands (46)

Few women participate in Dutch political life. On the local councils, they form 7.2% of elected members. Amongst municipal councillors, 2.9% are women. Out of 780 mayors in the Netherlands, only 6 are women. In 1973, 42% of local councils had no women at all.

At national level, female participation in politics is quite negligible. There is only one woman minister, 21 women members of Parliament and only 3 women senators.

East Germany (79)

In 1972, on the District Assemblies, Local Assemblies and Municipal Councils, 36% of elected members were women.

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Women form 31.8% of membership of the Lower House.

18.6% of mayors are women and women form almost half of the free German trade union membership.

Vietnam (42 and 55)

Women occupy 30.4% of the seats in the National Assembly. They include 57 peasants, 42 workers and 24 intellectuals.

On the popular committees, the proportion of women is 40%.

Sweden (111)

In 1975,

21% of members of Parliament were women and 17% of municipal councillors were women.

Czechoslovakia (56)

The proportion of women breaks down as follows:

People's Chamber:	25.4%
Chamber of the Nations:	24.7%
Federal Assembly:	25.4%
National Committees:	23.9%

Among the trades unions, they represent:

44.8% of total members

41.4% of the total offices in the basic organisation

37.1% of the total membership of the Central Trades Unions Council.

U.S.S.R. (25)

Dozens of women hold important posts on the Council of Ministers. Women represent:

- 50% of the total membership of local Soviets, where thousands occupy managerial posts
- 36% of all members of the Supreme Soviets
- 34.5% of the membership of the Central Trades Unions Council of the U.S.S.R.
- 44.8% of the membership of the Central Committees of Professional Unions.

Nonetheless, very few women are secretaries of party committees (45).

The random statistics given above seem fairly aptly to reflect what is happening in countries throughout the world and show that female participation in Government and on political bodies is very slight in the majority of them. Even in the socialist and Scandinavian countries, where the number of women is much higher than elsewhere, it is still frequently short of the 50% that would constitute equality. Very few actually hold positions at the highest levels of responsibility with decision-making powers. Moreover, while certain women in fact have important responsibilities, this is always in specific sectors

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such as public health, welfare, and education. "Have you not been struck by the fact that we have always been systematically kept away from economic, financial and even strategic matters?" was the question of a woman mayor of a rural community (11). Here we have the traditional roles expected of women at social and family level translated to political and national levels. The stereotypes of the "innate" capabilities of women also crop up in this case, even amongst those who would like women to participate more fully in politics.

R.G.Schwartzenberg (76) writes as follows. "For women, politics is not the clash of words. It is not evasion by myth and ritual. For them, it is more a case of deal with today and prepare for tomorrow. Service has the edge on power. For men, public life is frequently the desire to manipulate, a liking for power. Sometimes, it is a means of self-fulfilment, of proving their virility. Hence their desire to conquer, to compete, to challenge. For women, such sublimation hardly occurs. They see it more as a rendering of a service. For the benefit of the nation. To improve their lot. Their ideal is not to subjugate but to serve. To make themselves useful to the community. For them, politics is ultimately defined as a public service. For them, powerlessness replaces power. What takes pride of place for them is attention to others, the ability to listen". Women are therefore inclined to bring an element of social assistance into the institution of politics by importing something of their natural mellowness and of their "precious feminine values". "And so we return to the myth of the woman who lives only for and through others: wife, mother, mistress, nurse," is Evelyn le Garrec's comment (76).

It is hardly reassuring that these processes of elimination or failure to progress are largely unconscious and are the result of a series of converging factors; it is in fact far more difficult to fight effectively against reflexes implanted in the mentality and which seem "natural" than against confirmed ill will, the salient points of which can be clearly defined. We shall take a closer look at how these unconscious factors operate in the attitude of women themselves when they recoil from or consider themselves unable to play a leading role in social and political structures.

1.2. Women's attitudes towards their exclusion from the social and political scene

To the question "what do you think about the general absence of women when it comes to collective decision-taking? Are you amongst those who would like more active participation?" The reply of one woman, the lady mayor of a rural locality, was as follows (11). "That goes without saying, but the matter you refer to is not all that simple. In my view, the root of the trouble is more the attitude that women have towards each other than men's attitude towards them. What I mean by this is that it is up to each of us to become aware of what we are, of what we could be and of the wide gap that still exists between these two realities.

At the present time, when matters are discussed that are in any way related to public affairs, two kinds of women will be found. There are those who show no interest at all and who say that "they understand nothing about it" and those who blindly follow whatever their husband may think. I am talking mainly about the women who I regularly come across in a country environment.

However, I am sure that they are good for more than that. They are quite capable of assuming much wider responsibilities and if they don't do so, it's not due to lack of ability but to laziness!

Given these conditions, why shouldn't men always continue to hold the stage?"

This criticism levelled at women by a woman is certainly strong and is a result of looking at the facts. It does not, however, show how this attitude originates - to attribute the unwillingness of women to enter political life to some kind of "laziness" is a way of hiding the problem by putting the blame on those concerned in such a way as to deny oneself the means of finding a solution.

In fact, they must be freed of a life time of standards that have pushed women exclusively into the "private" sphere even if, now and again, some brilliant exceptions have been tolerated either to serve as an excuse or as a result of exceptional will power, temperament and circumstance.

What must be done in this field as in other fields of female life and family and community life is to "conquer a taboo", no more, no less. The taboo on which the conviction that "politics is a matter for men and not for women" is based. The relatively small number of articles devoted to this topic during International Womens Year (as compared with those dealing with family, conjugal, social and vocational matters) is a sign that this taboo has not yet been overcome, even amongst the most ardent protagonists of responsibility for women.

We have to recognise that it is no easy matter for women to relinquish these habits which have been inherited from long past, all the more since one of the chief obstacles (as in vocational work) is the commitment to domestic and household duties that may appear to substantiate their "unavailability" for outside roles. In fact, the Lomé Conference (July 1975) on "the promotion of women to community responsibilities" (63) has revealed that child-minding, household tasks, the difficulty of reconciling outside work with the commitments of civic life, the lack of support or even objection by the husband, and family criticism were some of the reasons for the small percentage of women on municipal councils. So long as the majority of husbands react in the following manner, women will need a good deal of courage to participate actively in civic life. In the words of B. Antoinet (59) "women of 45 to 50 who work together in an association find it quite impossible to come to a meeting at 9 p.m., leaving their husband alone at home. The 'no' is final and the women, while they regret it, can see no way round it. There is not even any debating it. Women have certain choices that are accepted by the husband and where the husband would willingly stay alone at home; however, women can have certain aspirations that come up against accepted barriers that they cannot surmount without jeopardising their relationship". Environmental pressures are therefore so strong that women fear the consequences if they were to infringe the constraints or prohibitions.

Another obstacle may well be the fact that once they have succeeded in entering political life, women meet up with a lack of confidence in them by other women. It is a fact that women do not often vote for women and parties

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make much of this pretext when turning down female candidates or putting them up for seats where they have no hope, as Claire Leclerc has stressed (75).

It is quite clear that the majority of women would prefer to cast their votes for men rather than for women and there are a number of factors to explain this behaviour. Women unconsciously conform to imprinted prejudices as to the inability of women to deal effectively with politics.

It would also seem that women are still unwilling to accept the promotion of one of their number. In this connection, we wonder whether women are not projecting on the woman who has succeeded in achieving a place in the social-political scene the private aggression that they feel in not being able to rid themselves personally of the constraints that their environment has placed upon them and which they have to a large extent absorbed.

Apart from the material constraints of all kinds which they tend to exaggerate, one may wonder whether this fear of being active in community matters is not in fact one of entering a field where they stand out against the mass of other women and in doing so to occupy a position that men so easily dismiss with irony ("suffragettes", "incendiaries") or with disapproval. Going to meetings, speaking in public, accepting responsibility, making an effort to keep abreast of economic, social and political problems continues all too often to seem incongruous where women are concerned. Statistically well less represented in associations (except for certain purely female associations), political parties and trades unions, merely the law of numbers means that their likelihood of achieving posts of responsibility is infinitely more remote than that of men. Moreover, we must recognise that men, no doubt being more in fear of competition and deprivation of their powers in community work than in their work places where they know that the rigidity of corporate structures will guarantee them their prerogatives, will bring all kinds of machinery into play in order to "bar" the promotion of women and to confine them to secretarial or service posts within such associations. Even on those bodies where the "traditional" interests of women are dealt with (for example, parent-teacher associations, community associations and welfare committees), everyone still considers it "normal" for the posts of honour and particularly those where decisions are made to be conferred on men. It therefore seems indispensable for women as a whole to become aware of these matters and for them to try and fight their own battle for their advancement. We are, however, also convinced that the burden of the stereotypes weighing upon them is so heavy, that the ratio of power is so heavily biased in their disfavour and that their margin of freedom to act is so small that any change in their situation will be possible only if, in parallel to the enlightenment of women, action is taken to demolish the prejudices and to change the thinking of men and women. Otherwise, for those rare women who succeed in obtaining a position of responsibility in social or political life, there will be little for it but to continue to model the pattern of their behaviour on that of men, since an isolated political woman will find it difficult to act and react as a woman without "masculinising" her role. This is no doubt what the F.M.V.J., for example, had in mind when subsequent to the Lomé Conference it set up a "Standing Conference on Women's Rights to Communal Responsibility" (63). This Conference's headquarters will probably be at Lomé and it will meet every

two years to consider trends in this particular matter. The Conference's essential aim is not to achieve quick results but to start to move opinion, to stimulate reactions, upset ingrained habits, and to have the problem talked about. It is true that women's role in community and social life is not solely a matter of political responsibility. Their place in society is further governed not only by their involvement in economic and labour matters but also by their involvement in decisions that influence production, prosperity, and national and international priorities.

The reason why we have dwelt on this point is that, like Claire Leclerc, we feel that "women can do nothing to change the facts until they have gained at least some political power" (75), even though other means of action and pressure may be open to them. This is what we shall now discuss.

1.3. Can women's contribution to community life be achieved through channels other than vocational work and political responsibility?

"Education no longer has a monopoly of politics. In addition to it, and sometimes instead of it, other forces are active - women's groups, abortion movements, environmental groups, and the like.

Each of these groups is a pressure group. Their activities are intensive but limited to a specific objective - to raise such and such a question, to demand such and such a reform. The stakes are tangible and concrete. In such organisations, which are close to life and down to earth, women often take an important place, even a leading one". For R.F.Schwartzberg (76), therefore, women's action within associations can have a very important political role through the pressures that these can exercise on the powers that be. The same line of thought emerged during the Afro-Asian symposium on the social development of women. At the symposium, it was suggested that greater unity should be sought for women's organisations, solidarity movements and international women's associations ignoring the barriers set up by race, colour and creed (55). It is true that, although these associations have no recognised or official responsibilities at political level, they can influence the introduction and even the amendment of legislation and the adoption of certain alternatives. Liberalisation of the law on contraception and abortion in France is one example of this. These groups can also have an important role in training. For example, the "Mozambique Women's Organisation" set up in 1966 has organised seminars on staff training and has taken part in action programmes aimed at education, public health, and the extension of agricultural products. During the struggle for independence, the members of the organisation looked after the children of the combatants, worked in health centres, provided literacy classes for adults and run schools for the children. After independence, they formed committees in each province of the Mozambique Republic and in each township in order to mobilise women politically, eradicate outdated ideas, and eliminate discrimination (55). In certain countries, women's associations are represented in the nation's political institutions. For example, in East Germany, the Democratic Union of German Women (U.D.F.A.) is individually represented in the People's Chamber. Each year, the State planning committee consults the President of the U.D.F.A., amongst others, on the draft budget (55). In Poland, the National Women's Council have representatives who take part in discussions on the content of new legislation (55).

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Through the agency of their associations, women can therefore exercise substantial political pressure. Indeed, some see activity of this kind as a substitute for women's working. Frequently, in fact, participation in such associations many of the women who play an active part are faced with the particular problems of voluntary work. It is certainly true that the multiplicity of tasks that exist within the field of community development and organisation, politics and social work in theory opens up avenues that a woman who does not go out to work should be able to pursue the more easily since she has more time and is more available to do so. For her, this would constitute a progressive apprenticeship in community roles outside the home. There are indeed a number of women who value work of this kind, such as a young woman of 35 who, having opted for active voluntary work, since she is financially independent and since voluntary work is seen by her as a better way of distributing wealth, said "value obtained through work is not a matter of money earned but is something quite different" (51). The emphasis is therefore essentially on the fact that by taking up commitments in social, cultural and political activities, women are thereby participating in the development of the country and that this enables her to establish satisfying contacts while still remaining at home for the greater part of the time, which they could not have done had they pursued a vocation. We must, however, stress that such arguments are put forward by women who belong to a relatively high social-economic and cultural level, and consequently see a certain standard of values in their work and easily accept the prevailing ideology on the distribution of tasks and roles between men and women.

However, we must recognise that for the very large majority of women, voluntary work rarely contributes towards their material well-being and would not therefore seem to be an effective substitute for vocational work, all the more so since without a cultural background and having a lowly social status do not consider themselves capable of taking on responsibilities or even of belonging to groups and associations. As the committee of the recent IUFO International Conference referred to above stresses (121), "voluntary work has its own value and is always up-valued by governments at times of historic recession, but let it then be proposed for both sexes!"

It should also be mentioned that in many industrialised countries it tends to be mainly the women who go out to work who also take on community responsibilities. Is this not precisely so because in industrial producer societies, an individual's status is conditioned by his position on the vocational scale? Pursuing a vocation obtains for women a status which may well give them more self-confidence and, economically at least, more independence. Moreover, they will no doubt find it easier to make contact and have a better knowledge of the social-economic machinery. One may also wonder whether women who work outside the home are not more closely confronted with the discriminations that exist between men and women and whether such awareness may not lead to greater militancy. Further, it seems that the less one is integrated into society, the less interest is shown in politics. On the other hand, anyone who participates in the life of an undertaking or a community will also participate in the movement of ideas and the clash of interests. Consequently, they will better perceive the background to elections, the interests involved in political processes. More and more women are going out to work, and so their social awareness will

develop as work for women does. This may also explain why women who go out to work participate more actively in community life. Besides, the converse can also be observed, those engaged in voluntary work and who are not just "dabbling" very quickly aspire to vocational life for real.

It would therefore seem that for women the choice is not so much between vocational work and community work, but rather the question of continuity from the one to the other.

The question of women's place in society leads us on to that of the relationship that arises between the family and society. Throughout this investigation we have seen how closely the role attributed to women in society is dependent on the image one has of the woman in relation to the family. The way in which dialogue occurs between the family and society is therefore of some importance to the advancement of women.

2. The family and society

It is in fact extremely difficult to discuss the family/society dialogue on a general basis. In fact, although the concept of the family can be shown to be virtually universal, as J.P. Hautecoeur states (43): "it has, in history and in various civilisations, acquired very different sociological realities. Both in the objective structure of inter-individual relations and in the manner in which it has been represented, the variety of situations is enormous". The polysemia of the concept of the family is not, however, solely historical, geographical and cultural. It would also appear to cover a variety of sociological instances and highly differing situations within a single cultural area and at any given moment in history.

It is a fact, for example, that in the developing countries, different family forms co-exist while in industrialised countries, new forms of family life which are not officially acknowledged can be seen to be developing. In such circumstances, to postulate a family policy would mean, as C. Clements (118) has indicated, recognising that family life is important on whatever model it is based and accepting the family in every form. Such recognition has not yet come about. For example, in our western societies, those who choose to establish a family without going through the institutional approval of official marriage encounter difficulty if they are to benefit from the various provisions of family policy, even if, in certain countries such as Sweden, it is almost universally acknowledged that in the social and tax fields, the actual family situation must be considered and less account taken of official forms of union (1). Other countries, such as the Netherlands, are examining the problem; in fact, the Dutch Families Council is conducting an enquiry into new forms of family life (46).

Whatever form family life may take, it seems that families expect family policy to foster the well being of the relationships within which the couple and children have to discover their opportunities for self-realisation and social intercourse.

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At the inter-African symposium held by the IUFO in Rwanda in June 1970, Philippe Garigue defined the prosperity of the family as follows. "The well-being of families in most cases is the result of conjunction of favourable factors with regard to health, education, work, accomodation, leisure, social services and acceptance of the laws specifying the rights, duties and responsibilities of members of the family. Families will therefore expect action likely to improve their material condition, which will depend very closely on living conditions and the advancement of society.

To this expectation by the family of an improvement in their material condition may be added that of action aiming towards the improvement of inter-personal relationships within the family so as to facilitate the individual blossoming of each of its members and to enhance the quality of family life" (118). Such enhancement of the quality of family life will without any doubt depend on material conditions, but these alone will not lead to an improvement in inter-personal relations.

However, as J.P.Hautecoeur stresses in his article on "Introduction to a Family Policy" (43), family policy should work towards promoting equality of opportunity. "Not only does the family (the couple, parents, children) revert to highly diverse and very unequal situations in their economic, ecological, cultural and social relations but the relationship to these variables is often very unequal in the case of the individuals who make up the family: men, women and children. Although family policy, if the logic of this argument is persued, relates to sectorial policies as regards the inequality of family situations, it also relates to different policies for the child, for the wife and for the husband in the light of the relationship between them". He therefore feels that family policy should above all be aimed at allowing the child's potential qualities to develop whatever its original environment, but also those of its parents. For this reason, while reaffirming the essential functions of the family in the child's development, J.P.Hautecoeur considers that "the idea of 'ownership of children' cannot facilitate good relations between individuals, in the same way that ownership of land cannot form the basis of a proper relationship with nature. Poverty is not merely a phenomenon of the prevailing social-economic situation but is above all a cultural heritage handed down through the sense of awareness (speech), attitudes and actions (movements) from earliest childhood.

Tradition admittedly offers tremendous resistance when it comes to educating very young children, since this has long been considered as an exclusively family function, and therefore a private one. Intervention by the community on the basis that it is equally responsible for each child's development pre-supposes a fundamental questioning of values and as a result of such qustioning a new set of problems for the family may well emerge, indeed, a real family policy adapted to the circumstances of the present and the needs of the future might be defined". *

* Underlined by the author himself.

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He further considers that family policy should promote equality of opportunity between the two sexes. "What is quite simply accepted as a fact of nature is quite frequently no more than a cultural acquisition justified by the past or by the continuation of privilege which it strengthens both by force of habit and by ideologies justifying such habit. The just division of labour and tasks as between the sexes is far from being a fact and equality of opportunity in this sector is an urgent priority applying above all to women". *

However, if such equality of opportunity is to be achieved between men and women, it will also be necessary to "facilitate the maximum presence of the husband within the family and to re-define his role in educating the children". In J.P. Hautecoeur's view, "a policy of this kind, which would radically alter the time basis of working, the division of labour between men and women, their reaction to working and human relations within the family pre-supposes a change in the quality of thinking, and a communal critical look at tradition in the light of the values and standards that today are unquestioned". *

Precisely because any family policy will necessarily jeopardise values and ideologies, families frequently express fears as to the provisions made by such policies. Fears of this kind have been expressed by two French family associations in the following way. "We have noticed that in the absence of a certain critical faculty and objective cultural training, families allow themselves to be increasingly conditioned by the mass media and by the State" (8) and the State intervenes "in fields encroaching on the conscience of all (divorce, abortion, contraception)" (58). Besides, it is clear, as L.C. Clements indicates (118), that in many countries there is real exploitation of the family in order to stimulate production and consumption and not in the true interests of the well-being of the families concerned.

Further criticism of the timidity or hypocrisy of pro-family legislation comes from Quebec, for example. "While, on the one hand, measures that could be called pro-family are enacted from time to time, they are often followed soon afterwards by other measures which take back what has just been given. Tax legislation is an eloquent example of this point. Just think of family allowances and child allowances and of the true cost that looking after and educating a child represents for parents. In other sectors, such as housing, one can scarcely speak of family policy" (125).

Moreover, the institution of family policy is often undertaken without any consultation with families even though steps are to be taken that will closely affect them. In Quebec, for example, "housing is a typical example of this, whether we are concerned with the planning of new housing projects or the planning of renovation projects - the family as such was rarely consulted" (125).

It has, however, been observed that in Quebec, housing is a sector "where families themselves are beginning to show community spirit and are opposing, sometimes successfully, the destruction of old areas that could, in many cases, be saved with an appropriate restoration policy" (125). The same

* underlined by the author himself.

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view is expressed by Philippe Garigue in the Rwanda symposium already quoted; he indicates that decisions concerning families should be taken with the families themselves as represented in the various associations. Each of these associations should be able to state their members' points of view and make proposals. He added that the needs of families could be met through dialogue between the associations representing them and the representatives of local government, and that what was needed for this was for the families to be represented on the economic planning bodies.

In short, what families want is to be consulted on any matters concerning them. They really want some measure of independence for the family sector in dealings with the public authorities and the opportunity to participate in setting up activities and services capable of meeting their needs. However, als L.C.Clements (128) remarks, the actions of the various departments concerned with family welfare must be co-ordinated. This, too, is the view of J.P.Hautecoeur, and we shall finish this brief appraisal of the family and society by quoting him.

"This concept of the family links it at the theoretical level with three individuals related to it: the child, the wife and the husband. Although these three terms can be dealt with in isolation, they should also be considered within their relationships and within their triangular, micro-cosmic unity. It is legitimate to postulate a general family policy and to identify priority sectorial policies aligned on the objective of equality of opportunity, but it would be harmful if they were not located within an overall family policy that was something more than the sum of individual policies, an empirical agglomeration of half-hearted, lifeless aims and actions, the unifying principle of which would lie elsewhere, namely within the whole phenomenon of the family itself. Ultimately, this concept of the family is a finite and complete concept pre-supposing a policy that is equally uniform and unifying. Such a policy, clearly defined in its relationship with values, ideologies and specific practices, could form the basis on which the priorities for intervention could be defined" (47a).

This broad prospect of a family policy relates back to the institution of action on behalf of women advocated in much of the literature and declarations of International Womens Year, since it places both men and women on the same level - and does so a propos of the family, which has long been held to be the privileged province of the woman. It therefore relates back to the notion of joint responsibility assumed by both sexes, in this case, within the family and when determining its future, but also with regard to work and economic choice, social-cultural development and political organisation.

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CONCLUSION:

We have attempted in this analysis to portray various aspects of the status of women throughout the world. We would end it with a reminder that it does not pretend either to afford exhaustive comment on the problems raised or to deal with every one of the attitudes and facts that may have come to light, even merely within the framework of International Womens Year. Although the documentation gathered together by the UIF0 represents a wide sample, they form but a small part of the flood of papers, statements, analyses and resolutions that touched on the topic of womanhood as a feature of 1975. Moreover, this documentation was relatively diverse as to form, content and origin, and it has been necessary to select whatever appeared to be the more typical and the better contrast, and to arrange it within a framework in which the opinions of the researchers played an important part. The sole aim of this detailed investigation has been to compare and contrast facts and attitudes on known topics (some might call them hackneyed) which mostly appeared in publications expressing clear, and sometimes opposing, views and which reflect situations in countries lying far apart geographically or politically.

The few general remarks that may be made in conclusion on the status of woman in society can in fact be drawn from those points where, sometimes unexpectedly, there is clear agreement or divergence.

1) There is an obvious difference as between countries as to the nature of the problem, corresponding to forms of society which themselves vary. For the most part, such societies are still rural or in the course of becoming industrialised, while others are already industrialised and "post-industrialised", and may have a free or a socialist economy. The four themes that we have chosen are consequently fairly unequally represented in the documentation on each country.

The topic most commonly encountered, in developing countries as well as in the others, if not more so, is that of education. The conviction that education for girls, as much as that for boys, is not only an investment for the future but, moreover, a necessary stage for any kind of progress in practice and outlook, progress in family life included, and in the further education of generations to come, is apparent in the concern that means of elementary, technical and higher schooling be open to both girls and boys. This concern that "problems be tackled at their root", i.e. as from the earliest stages of girls' education so as to permit the development considered necessary, can be found to have more egalitarian connotations and to be more aligned on equality of opportunity for girls and boys in the socialist countries than in free industrialised societies, both sexes being raised from early childhood towards equal work and real task-sharing, without either sex being dominant or superior.

This emphasis on full development of women's capabilities in all countries underlines the awareness of the loss to the nation and to civilisation of the under-employment of female capacity. By endowing girls with the same intellectual and psychological capital as boys and, therefore, with a good knowledge of their own behaviour patterns, it is held that they will be the more conscious agents of

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their own development and of progress in general, and that they will no longer be content with the minor, "faceless" and limited roles within which they have been shut up, sometimes for centuries.

Amongst the other themes that of vocational work for women is one that appears next most commonly in the documentation analysed. However, it is far more prominent in industrialised countries, and in the socialist countries in particular, than in the developing countries. For the former, work appears as the privileged means whereby women can come out from their isolation and subordinate positions, given the very high value attaching to participation in the production process in such societies. To be excluded from this is to be excluded from the centre of decision-making and from significant social relationships, and to be, in some way, reduced to the condition of an "assisted person".

For women the opportunity of working is not, of course, to be limited to filling the under-skilled repetitive, menial, badly paid and down-graded jobs that are too often set aside for women. The chief demand is for job equality without sexual discrimination - sometimes incorporated into principles but never into fact. Yet, more and more, this demand is developing into one for the upgrading of productive work as a whole, for both men and women, and towards establishing work content and conditions, allowing the blossoming and not the oppression or alienation of the individual personality.

In the developing countries, the problem of work for women is beginning to appear in this shape. In countries that are still very largely rural, however, priority is given in the first instance to improved training of and participation by women in the vital tasks of agriculture.

The topic of woman in the family is presented from two main angles. The first of these tends to be legal and institutional, and concerns women's rights within the marriage relationship regarding conception and the education of children and their own independence. This essential base has been substantially achieved in the legislation of socialist countries and is being rapidly consolidated in other industrialised countries, but constitutes a quite major step in countries where traditional legislation has conferred a minor, even "incompetent" status on women on important decisions such as marriage, procreation and parental rights and duties. Confrontation may therefore be seen to arise between the legislation of "advanced" countries and traditional legislation, and thinking is directed towards urgent measures, the necessary stages and the errors to be avoided. In all countries, however, the important question is also that of the gap between the law and actual practice - how should the struggle be conducted against the processes that continue to perpetuate attitudes and habits which, in this field, as in that of labour, "distort" statutory provisions and maintain the dependent status of women, or conversely, separation of the husband from the responsibilities that he ought, in principle, to assume?

This principle of the need for men and women to cooperate on family tasks is the second aspect most commonly touched upon with regard to women's status in the family.

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The problem is rendered all the more acute through women's taking up vocational work and, consequently, through the conflict between the two chief domains in which her presence is required. This problem also exists, however, if it is expressed in terms of family balance and the children's education, which should be a matter as much for the father as for the mother, or in terms of women's commitment to civic and social responsibilities which necessarily demand a psychological and material contribution on their part and, therefore, real help by their husbands. This trend seems to be a principal factor in all countries, even those that have achieved only paper equality between the sexes. It is perforce all the more "right" in countries with an industrial tradition.

The many articles, reports, manifestos, research work and analyses dealing with this matter in fact show that progress must urgently be made on this point.

Finally, the fourth topic is that of women's place in community responsibilities, and is unfortunately that which has least been the subject of any profound analysis in the literature that appeared in 1975 that we were able to examine. Moreover, there are few illusions as to the minor place taken by women in the apparatus of social, economic and political organisations and even amongst the membership of such organisations, and the desire as expressed that this position should be improved. However, rarely are concrete measures put forward and even more rarely are there any examples of this being successfully done in any country, the proportion of women engaged in community work varying from nil to a total of between 10 and 20%. The highest percentages are found only in "traditionally female" fields, which are often on the sidelines of public affairs.

It is true that nowhere in the literature published in connection with International Womens Year can an assertion be found that woman's place is solely in the home and not in community work, and that the roles of representation, decision making and command should be left to men. Although such thoughts may still be entertained by some persons who can now be considered to be living in the past, they are no longer part of the thinking of the most educated, responsible persons or indeed of public opinion as a whole. Yet the humble place occupied by this subject against the many themes discussed in connection with International Womens Year shows that we are only at the start of a task that will be long and difficult - all the more so as a vicious circle is concerned: the more that women are mainly excluded from places where decisions are taken, the less they can effectively influence measures that could actually improve their chances of entering social or political life. The number of countries that have most recently at last given women the vote shows how difficult it is to set a trend, even when it is almost universally acknowledged, when the only persons who have any say are men, and men alone.

Since the available literature is both few and general in nature, it contains little true analysis of the process whereby women are kept out of community organisations and, a fortiori, public bodies, and of the disinterest and feelings of inferiority that they express on these matters.

The exemplary aspect of the position in the few countries that have attempted to fight against this kind of exclusion in fact shows how difficult it is completely to eradicate discrimination and the belief that women are somehow incapable, since there are processes of all kinds that tend to restrict them to private tasks

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or to remaining in subsidiary positions within the organisation. The "unofficial" joint action undertaken by women in certain countries to press their claims on matters that directly concern them leads us to the question of the framework and form best suited to hasten a female say in the business of the community. Should they first become organised and teach themselves the facts of cohesion and force, and discover their capacity for expression and action? Or should they join existing organisations in force and so carve out a place for themselves in them?

2) Despite the differences in emphasis on each topic according to the country concerned, there are several points of agreement amongst the various and varied texts that we were able to read and analyse and it is worth stressing these since they show that women are faced with specific problems whatever the society and men certainly encounter parallel problems which have points in common whatever the local situation.

These points of agreement chiefly concern the role played by women within the environment in which they move and the help that they may expect from society to render this role less restricted and more socially useful. We find in the various countries that as soon as a woman wants to fulfil functions other than that of wife and mother, she will immediately come up against difficulties that men do not encounter, particularly the conflict between duties outside the home and those within, which require a capacity for work and for attention far greater than that required of the male sex.

Furthermore, in practice all countries analyse this problem by stating the degree to which the division of family roles still remains unequal as between men and women, the latter bearing the heavier burden, and how, on the other hand, discrimination persists in vocational careers and public office - e.g. in maintaining a distinction between "male" and "female" jobs, poorer promotion prospects and lower earnings for women than for men, women's difficulty to rise to managerial level, etc. The tendency to place women in an "over-protected" category, in labour legislation as elsewhere, is also questioned since it maintains or strengthens this kind of discrimination. Further, where such over-protection exists at family level, it reinforces a kind of protectionism that holds women to be weak beings and is therefore likely to contribute towards perpetuating their minor as assisted status. All these countries therefore seem to agree in considering that the only means in better division of responsibilities between the sexes at all levels, i.e. in making both men and women aware of their responsibilities and by instituting practical means for dealing with them. Consequently, the educational system is questioned and, as we stressed above, this is the prime target of efforts to abolish sexual discrimination. The fact that in most countries this is a public sector under direct State authority (unlike economic activity, business undertakings, associations etc.) probably explains why it can "move" more quickly.

3) The background to the problems raised throughout International Womens Year, some relationship may be found to exist, circumstantial in appearance but in fact much deeper than that, between a desire for advancement in the status of women and the demographic and economic imperatives regarded as objectives in the various kinds of society.

To take just one example, the recurrent fluctuations that may be seen in industrialised countries (including the socialist countries) between the extremely

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strong encouragement given to women to participate in the production progress by taking up a vocational job and the encouragement given them to increase their fecundity and give priority, at least once, to their procreative and child-rearing function is certainly a reflection of prevailing economic conditions. Above all, however, they reveal what objectives are considered the most important - expansionist aims from a demographic point of view or a desire to increase the wealth intended for the community or certain groups within it.

These fluctuations are not the result of some deep study of what would be best, the most desirable and the most necessary for those concerned with regard to their position in society and the exercise of their rights. Economic recession in the western countries, the drop in the birth rate in all industrialised countries, both socialist and capitalist, are at the present time giving a new twist to ideological upgrading of the mother's role, but may in fact be detrimental to women's hopes for progression to some function within society, vocational or otherwise, that would raise them out of their situation of minority and dependence. In fact, despite fine words and progressive ideological trappings, women for the most part continue to form a "reserve army" to be applied to community requirements which they are asked neither to define nor to supervise. First, their function as producers of warriors is extolled, then that of producers of goods and services, then, again, that of producers of producers and so on. The joint resistance that women are beginning to show in many countries against such imposed roles, for example by putting the brakes on procreation or by asking for vocational work, is perhaps a sign that women are no longer willing passively to accept the pursuit of objectives with which they do not necessarily agree without their personal aspirations being taken into account.

4) To conclude this long Cook's Tour through a mountain of paper, two fundamental questions arise.

The first, which is hardly to be avoided, is what results an event such as International Womens Year might yield, or to put it more precisely, what is the upshot of profusion of prose and peroration that we have analysed (and which is no more than a small sample of everything that could have been said or published in this connection). "What good is all this fuss", ask those who find it difficult to put up with the calling in question and the proposals that disturb their peace this year and who now look wistfully towards a "International Puppydog's Year", to quote a current joke, when it might eventually be possible to return to less inflammatory matters. "Will this fund of thought and contacts brought about by International Women's Year lead to any concrete changes?", ask those who are aware that some real progress in the existing situation of women at all levels is urgently needed, both for individual wellbeing and for the future of society.

It would seem that the first achievement has been to mobilise public opinion and, surely, the opportunity to organise a broad discussion of the facts and to air plans aligned towards change shows that such change is in fact possible and does not constitute "the collapse of civilisation" but real progress both on the part of the individual and of the community. However, it is clear that the most lasting impact is that on women themselves, whose active awareness is a prerequisite for any progress. The revelation of exclusion from certain facets or, to put it more simply, discovery of their unemployed capabilities, of processes that tend to confine them to certain sectors and to certain work, of the opportunities that they can set to work towards the joint improvement of their situation and in the fight against discrimination, can constitute a springboard to go yet further and to

.../

extend International Womens Year into terms of daily life. Naturally, this presupposes that adequate means will continue to be made available for this fight, as regards both information and communication and amendment of the law and material assistance for men and women who wish "to live differently". At least, it is now better understood that these efforts do not result merely from the caprice of overexcited or extravagant women but that they are of prime importance for the future of society and of civilisation.

The other question will arise once the indispensable moves towards achieving similarity of status and powers in society for men and women have been completed. How, while still fighting for long-discrimination in all fields, can the specific nature of femininity be maintained when it is no longer supported on the convenient, emotional arguments by means of which women's lower status is maintained and the responsibilities otherwise reduced to a functional level are extolled, yet which take account of true balance between the sexes in a common design, with the aid of everything that the various branches of science have revealed during the last 50 years?

It is quite clear that scientific argument alone will not provide the answer. Upon reading what each country has, from its own angle, written about women these past months it is all too evident that the type of culture and the concept of society's objectives also contribute towards a certain view of the role of each sex in human relations. Philosophers, sociologists and statesmen are as much, and even more, involved than doctors, geneticists and psychologists, since what we are concerned with is the planning of society of the future, and to draft the place and men and women within it, and the ways and means by which such plans can be realised. As far as women are concerned, whatever may have been said of them, they do not seek to overturn society for their own benefit, to proceed from subject to subject status. But they consider that in society as a whole they must, for the greater good of all, obtain powers of equal rank as those of men, even if expressed in a different style. The literature produced during International Womens Year can be interpreted along these lines. However, one question remains unanswered - how do men and women see their way to cooperating on the construction of their future?

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